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AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

Ancient and Modern,

FROM

THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,

TO THE

BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

IN WHICH

THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND VARIATIONS OF CHURCH POWER

ARE CONSIDERED

IN THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE STATE OF LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY,

AND

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE DURING THAT PERIOD.

BY THE LATE LEARNED

JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D. D.

AND CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN, AND ACCOMPANIED WITH NOTES AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

BY ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D. D.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCURATE INDEX.

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THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.

The General History of the Christian Church.

I. THE arduous attempts made by the pontiffs, in the preceding century, to advance the glory and majesty of the see of *Rome*, by extending the limits of the Christian church, and spreading the gospel through the distant nations, met with much opposition; and as they were neither well conducted nor properly supported, their fruits were neither abundant nor permanent. But in this century the same attempts were renewed with vigour, crowned with success, and contributed not a little to give a new degree of stability to the tottering grandeur of the papacy. They were begun by Gregory XV. who, by the advice of his confessor Narni, founded at *Rome*, in the year 1622, the famous *Congregation for the propagation of the faith*, and enriched it with ample revenues. This congregation, which consists of thirteen cardinals, two priests, one monk, and a secretary [*a*], is designed to propagate

The College de Propaganda fide, founded at Rome.

[*a*] Such is the number of members belonging to this *Congregation* as they stand in the original *Bull* of Gregory XV. See *Bullarium Roman.* tom. iii. p. 472. *edit Luxemburg.*— Cerri mentions the same number, in his *Etát Present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 259. But a different account is given by Aymon.

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gate and maintain the religion of *Rome* in all parts and corners of the world. Its riches and possessions were so prodigiously augmented by the munificence of Urban VIII. and the liberality of an incredible number of donors, that its funds are, at this day, adequate to the most expensive and magnificent undertakings. And, indeed, the enterprises of this *Congregation* are great and extensive: By it a vast number of missionaries are sent to the remotest parts of the world; books of various kinds published, to facilitate the study of foreign and barbarous languages; the sacred writings, and other pious productions, sent abroad to the most distant corners of the globe, and exhibited to each nation and country in their own language and characters; seminaries founded for the sustenance and education of a prodigious number of young men, set apart for the foreign missions; houses erected for the instruction and support of the Pagan youths that are yearly sent from abroad to *Rome*, that they may return from thence into their respective countries, and become the instructors of their blinded Brethren: not to mention the charitable establishments, that are designed for the relief and support of those who have suffered banishment, or been involved in other calamities, on account of their stedfast attachment to the religion of *Rome*, and their zeal for promoting the glory of its pontiff. Such are the arduous and complicated schemes, with the execution of which this Congregation is charged; but these, though the principal, are not the only objects of its attention; its views, in a word, are vast, and its exploits almost incredible. Its members

Aymon, in his *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, part III. ch. iii. p. 279. for he makes this *Congregation* to consist of *eighteen* cardinals, *one* of the pope's secretaries, *one* apostolical *protho-notary*, one *referendary*, and *one* of the assessors, or secretaries of the inquisition.

members hold their assemblies in a splendid and magnificent palace, whose delightful situation adds a singular lustre to its beauty and grandeur [*b*].

The College, propaganda, &c. instituted by Urban VIII.

II. To this famous establishment, another less magnificent indeed, but highly useful, was added, in the year 1627, by Pope Urban VIII. under the denomination of a *College, or Seminary for the propagation of the faith.* This seminary is set apart for the instruction and education of those who are designed for the foreign missions: and they are here brought up, with the greatest care, in the knowledge of all the languages and sciences that are necessary to prepare them for propagating the Gospel among the distant nations. This excellent foundation was due to the zeal and munificence of John Baptist Villes, a Spanish nobleman, who resided at the court of *Rome*, and who began by presenting to the pontiff all his ample possessions, together with his house, which was a noble and beautiful structure, for this pious and generous purpose. His liberality excited a spirit of pious emulation, and is followed with zeal even to this day. The *Seminary* was at first committed by Urban to the care and direction of three *canons* of the *patriarchal* churches; but this appointment was afterwards changed, and ever since the year 1641, it is governed by the *Congregation* founded by Gregory XV. [*c*].

 III. The

[*b*] The authors who have given an account of this Congregation, are mentioned by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens,* cap. xxxiii. p. 566. Add to these, Dorotheus Ascanius *De Montibus Pietatis Ecclesiæ Roman.* p. 522. where there is a complete list of the books that have been published by this congregation, from its first institution until the year 1667.

[*c*] Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux et Militaires,* tom. viii. cap. xii. p. 78. Urb Cerri *Etât present de l'Eglise Romaine,* p. 293. where, however the first founder of this College is called, by mistake, Vives.

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Congregations of Colleges of the same nature founded in France.

III. The same zealous spirit reached *France*, and produced there several pious foundations of a like nature. In the year 1663, the *Congregation of priests of the foreign missions* were instituted by royal authority, while an association of bishops and other ecclesiastics founded the *Parisian Seminary for the missions abroad*, designed for the education of those who were set apart for the propagation of Christianity among the Pagan nations. From hence, apostolical vicars, are still sent to *Siam Tonquin*, *Cochin China*, and *Persia*, bishops to *Babylon*, and missionaries to other Asiatic nations; and all these spiritual envoys are supported by the ample revenues and possessions of the *Congregation* and *Seminary* [*d*]. These *priests of the foreign missions* [*e*], and the apostles they send into foreign countries, are almost perpetually involved in altercations and debates with the Jesuits and their missionaries. The former are shocked at the methods that are ordinarily employed by the latter in converting the Chinese and other Asiatics to the Christian religion. And the Jesuits, in their turn, absolutely refuse obedience to the orders of the *apostolical vicars* and *bishops*, who receive their commission from the *Congregation* above mentioned; though this commission be issued out with the consent of the pope, or of the *College de propaganda fide* residing at *Rome*. There was also another religious establishment formed in *France*, during this century, under the title of the *Congregation of the Holy Sacrament*, whose founder was Autherius, bishop of *Bethlehem*, and which in the year 1644, received an order from Urban VIII. to have always a number

[*d*] See the *Gallia Christiana Benedictorum*, tom. vii. p. 1024.—Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. viii. chap. xii. p. 84.

[*e*] These ecclesiastics are commonly called in *France*, *Messieurs des Missions Etrangeres*.

number of ecclesiastics ready to exercise their ministry among the Pagan nations, whenever they should be called upon by the pope, or the *Congregation de propaganda*, for that purpose [*f*]. It would be endless to mention other associations of less note, that were formed in several countries for promoting the cause of Christianity among the darkened nations; as also the care taken by the Jesuits, and other religious communities, to have a number of missionaries always ready for that purpose.

Missionaries multiply, more especially those of the Jesuits.

IV. These congregations and colleges sent forth those legions of missionaries, who, in this century, covered in a manner, the whole face of the globe, and converted to the profession of Christianity at least, if not to its temper and spirit, multitudes of persons in the fiercest and most barbarous nations. The religious orders, that make the greatest figure in these missions, are the *Jesuits*, the *Dominicans*, the *Franciscans*, and the *Capuchins*, who, though concerned in one common cause, agree nevertheless very ill among themselves, accusing each other publicly and reciprocally, and that with the most bitter reproaches and invectives, of want of zeal in the service of Christ, nay, of corrupting the purity of the Christian doctrine to promote their ambitious purposes. But none are so universally accused of sinister views and unworthy practices in this respect, as the *Jesuits*, who are singularly odious in the eyes of all the other missionaries, and are looked upon as a very dangerous and pernicious set of apostles by a considerable part of the Romish church. Nor, indeed, can they be viewed in any other light, if the general report be true, that, instead of instructing their proselytes in the genuine doctrines of Christianity, they teach them a corrupt system of religion and

[*f*] Helyot, *loc. cit.* cap. xiii. p. §7, 100.

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morality that sits easy upon their consciences, and is reconcileable with the indulgence of their appetites and passions;—that they not only tolerate, but even countenance, in these new converts, several profane opinions and superstitious rites and customs;—that, by commerce, carried on with the most rapacious avidity, and various other methods little consistent with probity and candour, they have already acquired an overgrown opulence, which they augmented from day to day;—that they burn with the thirst of ambition, and are constantly gaping after worldly honours and prerogatives;—that they are perpetually employing the arts of adulation, and the seductions of bribery, to insinuate themselves into the friendship and protection of men in power;—that they are deeply involved in civil affairs, in the cabals of courts, and the intrigues of politicians;—and finally, that they frequently excite intestine commotions and civil wars, in those states and kingdoms, where their views are obstructed or disappointed, and refuse obedience to the Roman pontiff, and to the vicars and bishops that bear his commission. These accusations are indeed grievous, but they are perfectly well attested, being confirmed by the most striking circumstantial evidence, as well as by a prodigious number of unexceptionable witnesses. Among these we may reckon many of the most illustrious and respectable members of the church of *Rome*, whose testimony cannot be imputed to the suggestions of envy, on the one hand, nor considered as the effect of temerity or ignorance on the other; such are the cardinals, the members of the *Congregatione de propaganda fide*, and even some of the popes themselves. These testimonies are supported and confirmed by glaring facts, even by the proceedings of the Jesuits in *China*, *Abyssinia*, *Japan*, and *India*, where they have dishonoured the cause of Christianity,

Christianity, and hurt the interest of *Rome* in the most sensible manner, by their corrupt practices [*g*]. CENT. XVII. SECT. I.

V. The Jesuits exhausted all the resources of their peculiar artifice and dexterity to impose silence upon their accusers, to confound their adversaries, and to give a specious colour to their own proceedings. But all their stratagems were ineffectual. The court of *Rome* was informed of their odious frauds; and this information was, by no means, looked upon as groundless. Many circumstances concur to prove this, and among others the conduct of the Congregation at *Rome*, by which the foreign missions are carried on and directed. For it is remarkable, that, during many years past, the Jesuits have been much less employed by that Congregation, than in former times, and are also treated, on almost every occasion, with a degree of circumspection that manifestly implies suspicion and diffidence. Other religious orders have evidently gained the ascendant they formerly held; and, in the nice and critical affairs of the church, and more especially in what relates to the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, much more confidence is placed in the austere sobriety, poverty, industry, and patience of the *Capuchins* and *Carmelites*, than in the opulence, artifice, genius, and fortitude of the disciples of Loyola. On the other hand it is certain, that if the Jesuits are not much trusted, they are, however, more or less feared; since neither the powerful *Congregation*, now mentioned, nor even the Roman pontiffs themselves, venture to reform all the abuses, which they silently disapprove, or openly blame, in the conduct of this

The Jesuits ill looked upon.

[*g*] The reader will find an ample relation of these facts, supported by a cloud of witnesses, in the Preface to the *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, published at *Utrecht* in the year 1741.

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insidious order. This connivance, however involuntary, is become a matter of necessity. The opulence of the Jesuits is so extensive, and their credit and influence are grown so extensive and formidable, in all those parts of the world that embrace the religion of *Rome*, that they carry their insolence so far as to menace often the pontiff on his throne, who cannot without the utmost peril, oblige them to submit to his orders, where they are disposed to be refractory. Nay more, the decisions of the pope are frequently suggested by this powerful society, and it is only in such a case that the society treats them with unlimited respect. When they come from any other quarter, they are received in a very different manner by the Jesuits, who trample upon some of them with impunity, and interpret others with their usual dexterity, in such a manner, as to answer the views and promote the interests of their ambitious order. Such, at least, are the accounts that are generally given of their proceedings; accounts which, though contradicted by them, are nevertheless supported by striking and palpable evidence.

The methods of converting practised by the Jesuits procure them enemies.

VI. The rise of these dissensions between the Jesuits and the other Roman missionaries, is owing to the methods of conversion used by the former, which are entirely different from those that are employed by the latter. The crafty disciples of Loyola judge it proper to attack the superstition of the *Indian* nations by artifice and stratagem, and to bring them only gradually, with the utmost caution and prudence, to the knowledge of Christianity. In consequence of this principle, they interpret and explain the ancient doctrines of Paganism, and also those that Confucius taught in *China*, in such a manner as to soften and diminish, at least in appearance, their opposition to the truths of the Gospel; and whenever they find,

find, in any of the religious systems of the Indians, tenets or precepts that bear even the faintest resemblance of certain doctrines or precepts of Christianity, they employ all their dexterity and zeal to render this resemblance more plausible and striking, and to persuade the Indians, that there is a great conformity between their ancient theology, and the new religion they are exhorted to embrace. They go still further; for they indulge their proselytes in the observance of all their national customs and rites, except such as are glaringly inconsistent with the genius and spirit of the Christian worship. These rites are modified a little by the Jesuits, and are directed towards a different set of objects, so as to form a sort of coalition between Paganism and Christianity. To secure themselves an ascendant over the untutored minds of these simple Indians, they study their natural inclinations and propensities, comply with them on all occasions, and carefully avoid whatever may shock them. And as in all countries the clergy, and men of eminent learning, are supposed to have a considerable influence on the multitude, so the Jesuits are particularly assiduous in courting the friendship of the Indian priests, which they obtain by various methods, in the choice of which they are far from being scrupulous. But the protection of men in power is the great object they principally aim at, as the surest method of establishing their authority, and extending their influence. And hence they study all the arts that can render them agreeable or useful to great men; hence their application to the mathematics, physic, poetry, to the theory of painting, sculpture, architecture, and the other elegant arts; and hence their perseverance in studying men and manners, the interests of princes, and the affairs of the world, in order to prepare them for giving counsel in critical situations, and suggesting

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suggesting expedients in perplexing and complicated cases. It would be endless to enumerate all the circumstances that have been complained of in the proceedings of the Jesuits. These that have been now mentioned, have ruined their credit in the esteem of the other missionaries, who consider their artful and insidious dealings as every way unsuitable to the character and dignity of the ambassadors of Christ, whom it becomes to plead the cause of God with an honest simplicity, and an ingenuous openness and candour, without any mixture of dissimulation or fraud. And, accordingly, we find the other religious orders, that are employed in the foreign missions, proceeding in a very different method in the exercise of their ministry. They attack openly the superstitions of the Indians, in all their connexions and in all their consequences, and are studious to remove whatever may seem adapted to nourish them. They shew little regard to the ancient rites and customs in use among the blinded nations, and little respect for the authority of those by whom they were established. They treat with a certain indifference and contempt the Pagan priests, grandees, and princes; and preach, without disguise, the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, while they attack, without hesitation or fear, the superstitions of those nations they are called to convert.

Christianity propagated in India.

VII. These missionaries of the court of *Rome* spread the fame of the Christian religion through the greatest part of *Asia* during this century. To begin with *India;* it is observable, that the ministerial labours of the *Jesuits, Theatins* and *Augustinians* contributed to introduce some rays of divine truth, mixed, indeed with much darkness and superstition, into those parts of that vast region that had been possessed by the Portuguese before their expulsion from thence by the Dutch.

But

But of all the missions that were established in these distant parts of the globe, none has been more constantly and universally applauded than that of *Madura*, and none is said to have produced more abundant and permanent fruit. It was undertaken and executed by Robert de Nobili [*h*], an Italian Jesuit, who took a very singular method of rendering his ministry successful. Considering on the one hand, that the Indians beheld with an eye of prejudice, and aversion all the Europeans, and, on the other, that they held in the highest veneration the order of *Brachmans* as descended from the Gods; and that, impatient of other rulers, they paid an implicit and unlimited obedience to them alone, he assumed the appearance and title of a *Brachman*, that had come from a far country, and, by besmearing his countenance and imitating that most austere and painful method of living that the *Sanianes* or Penitents observe, he at length persuaded the credulous people that he was, in reality, a member of that venerable Order [*i*]. By this stratagem, he

[*h*] Others call this famous missionary Robert de Nobilibus.

[*i*] Urban Cerri, *Etât present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 173.

☞ Nobili, who was looked upon by the Jesuits as the chief Apostle of the Indians after Francois Xavier, took incredible pains to acquire a knowledge of the religion, customs, and language of *Madura*, sufficient for the purposes of his ministry. But this was not all; for, to stop the mouths of his opposers, and particularly of those who treated his character of Brachman as an impostor, he produced an old, dirty parchment, in which he had forged, in the ancient Indian characters, a deed, shewing that the Brachmans of *Rome* were of much older date than those of *India*, and that the Jesuits of *Rome* descended, in a direct line, from the God *Brama*. Nay, Father Jouvenci, a learned Jesuit, tells us in the History of his Order, something yet more remarkable; even that Robert de Nobili, when the authenticity of his smoaky parchment was called in question by some Indian unbelievers, declared *upon oath*, before the assembly of the Brachmans

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he gained over to Christianity twelve eminent Brachmans, whose example and influence engaged a prodigious number of the people to hear the instructions, and to receive the doctrine of this famous missionary. On the death of Robert, this singular mission was for some time at a stand, and seemed even to be neglected [*k*]. But it was afterwards renewed, by the zeal and industry of the Portuguese Jesuits, and is still carried on by several missionaries of that Order, from *France* and *Portugal*, who have inured themselves to the terrible austerities that were practised by Robert, and that are thus become, as it were, the appendages of that mission. These fictitious *Brachmans*, who boldly deny their being Europeans or *Franks* [*l*], and only give themselves out for inhabitants of the northern regions, are said to have converted a prodigious number of Indians to Christianity; and, if common report may be trusted to, the congregations they have already founded in those countries grow larger and more numerous from year to year. Nor, indeed, do these accounts appear, in the main, unworthy of credit [*m*]; though we must not be too ready to receive,

Brachmans of *Madura*, that he (Nobili) derived really and truly his origin from the God *Brama*. Is it not astonishing that this Reverend Father should acknowledge, is it not monstrous that he should applaud, as a piece of pious ingenuity, this detestable instance of perjury and fraud? See Jouvenci *Histoire des Jesuites*.—Norbert, *Memoires Historiques sur les Missions des Malab.* tom. ii. p. 145.

[*k*] Urban Cerri *Etât present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 173.

[*l*] The Indians distinguish all the Europeans by the general denomination of *Franks*, or (as they pronounce the word) *Franghis*.

[*m*] The Jesuits seem to want words to express the glory that has accrued to their Order from the remarkable success, and the abundant fruits of this famous mission, as also the dreadful sufferings and hardships their missionaries have sustained in the course of their ministry. See the *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes ecrites des Missions Etrangeres*, tom. i. p. 9. 32. 46. 50.

receive, as authentic and well attested, the relations that have been given of the intolerable hardships

50, 55. where father Martin observes (p. 9.), that this mission surpasses all others; that each missionary baptizes, at least, a thousand converts every year (p. 11.); that, nevertheless Baptism is not indiscriminately administered, or granted with facility and precipitation to every one that demands it (p. 12.); that those who present themselves to be baptized, are accurately examined until they exhibit sufficient proofs of their sincerity, and are carefully instructed during the space of four months in order to their reception; that, after their reception, they live like angels rather than like men; and that the smallest appearance of mortal sins is scarcely, if ever, to be found among them. If any one is curious enough to inquire into the causes that produce such an uncommon degree of sanctity among these new converts, the Jesuits allege the two following; the *first* is modestly drawn from the holy lives and examples of the missionaries, who (p. 15.) pass their days in the greatest austerity, and in acts of mortification that are terrible to nature, (see tom. xii. p. 206. tom. xv. p. 211.) who are not allowed for instance, the use of bread, wine, fish, or flesh, but are obliged to be satisfied with water and vegetables, dressed in the most insipid and disgusting manner, and whose clothing, with the other circumstances of life, are answerable to their miserable diet. The *second* cause of this unusual appearance, alleged by the Jesuits, is the situation of these new Christians, by which they are cut off from all communication and intercourse with the Europeans, who are said to have corrupted, by their licentious manners, almost all the other Indian proselytes to Christianity. Add to all this, other considerations, which are scattered up and down in the *Letters* above cited, tom. i. p. 16, 17. tom. ii. p. 1. tom. iii. p. 217. tom. v. p. 2. tom. vi. p. 119. tom. ix. p. 126.——*Madura* is a separate kingdom situated in the midst of the Indian *Peninsula* beyond the *Ganges* *. There is an accurate map of the territory comprehended in the mission of *Madura*, published by the Jesuits in the xvth tome of the *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes*, p. 60. The French Jesuits set on foot, in the kingdom of *Carnate* and in the adjacent provinces, a mission like that of *Madura* (*Lettres Cur.* tom. v. p. 3. 240.) and, towards the conclusion of this century, other missionaries of the same Order formed an enterprize of the same nature in the dominions of the king of *Marava*, (tom. ii. p. 1. tom. x. p. 79.)

☞ * This is a mistake. Madura is in the Indian Peninsula within the Ganges, and not beyond it. Its principal produce is rice, which is one of the principal instruments made use of by the rich Jesuits in the conversion of the poor Indians.

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ships and sufferings that have been sustained by these *Jesuit-Brachmans* in the cause of Christ. Many imagine, and not without good foundation, that their austerities are, generally speaking, more dreadful in appearance than in reality; and that, while they outwardly affect an extraordinary degree of self-denial, they indulge themselves privately in a free, and even luxurious use of the creatures, have their tables delicately served, and their cellars exquisitively furnished, in order to refresh themselves after their labours.

In the kingdoms of Siam, Tonquin, &c.

VIII. The knowledge of Christianity was first conveyed to the kingdoms of *Siam*, *Tong-king*, and *Kochinchina*, by a mission of Jesuits, under the direction of Alexander of Rhodes, a native of *Avignon* [*n*], whose instructions were received with uncommon docility by a prodigious number of the inhabitants of these countries. An account

p. 79.) The Jesuits themselves, however acknowledge, (tom. vi. p. 3, 15, 66, 107.) that this latter establishment succeeded much better than that of *Carnate*. The reason of this may perhaps be, that the French Jesuits, who founded the mission of *Carnate*, could not endure, with such constancy and patience, the austere and mortified manner of living which an institution of this nature required, nor imitate the rigid self-denial of the Brachmans, so well as the missionaries of *Spain* and *Portugal*.—Be that as it may, all these missions, that formerly made such a noise in the world, were suspended and abandoned, in consequence of a papal mandate issued out in the year 1744, by Benedict XIV. who declared his disapprobation of the mean and perfidious methods of converting the Indians that were practised by the Jesuits, and pronounced it unlawful to make use of frauds or insidious artifices in extending the limits of the Christian church. See Norbert, *Memoires Historiques pour les Missions Orientales*, tom. i. & iv. Mammachius has given an account of this matter, and also published the mandate of Benedict, in his *Orig. et Antiq. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 245. See also Lockman's *Travels of the Jesuits*, &c. translated from the *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. vol. i. p. 4, 9. 2d edit.

[*n*] See the *Writings* of Alexander de Rhodes, who was undoubtedly a man of sense and spirit, and more especially his *Travels*, which were published in 4to, at *Paris*, in the years 1666, and 1682.

account of the success of this spiritual expedition being brought to Alexander VII. in the year 1658, determined that pontiff to commit this new church to the inspection and government of a certain number of bishops, and chose for this purpose some French priests out of the *Congregation of foreign missions* to carry his orders to the rising community, and to rule over it as his representatives and vicegerents. But the Jesuits, who can bear no superiors, and scarcely an equal, treated these pious men with the greatest indignity, loaded them with injuries and reproaches, and would not permit them to share their labours, nor to partake of their glory [o]. Hence arose, in the court of *Rome*, a long and tedious contest, which served to shew, in the plainest manner, that the Jesuits were ready enough to make use of the authority

[o] There were several Pamphlets and Memorials published at *Paris*, in the year 1666, 1674, and 1681, in which these French missionaries, whom the Jesuits refused to admit as fellow-labourers in the conversion of the Indians, relate, in an eloquent and affecting strain, the injuries they had received from that jealous and ambitious Order. The most ample and accurate narration of that kind was published at *Paris*, in the year 1688, by Francis Pallu, whom the pope had created bishop of *Heliopolis*. The same matter is largely treated in the *Gallia Christiana* of the learned Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 1027, and a concise account of it is also given by Urban Cerri, in his *Etât present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 199. This latter author, though a secretary of the Congregation *de propaganda fide*, yet inveighs with a just severity and a generous warmth against the perfidy, cruelty, and ambition of the Jesuits; and laments it as a most unhappy thing, that the *Congregation*, now mentioned, has not power enough to set limits to the rapacity and tyranny of that arrogant society. He further observes, towards the end of his *Narrative*, which is addressed to the pope, that he was not at liberty to reveal all the abominations which the Jesuits had committed, during the course of this contest, but, by the order of his Holiness, was obliged to pass them over in silence. His words are, *Votre Sainteté a ordonneé, qu'elles demeurassent sous le secret.*—See also on this subject, Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. viii. chap. xii. p. 84.

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authority of the pope, when it was necessary to promote their interests, or to extend their influence and dominion; but that they did not hesitate, on the other hand, to treat the same authority with indifference and contempt in all cases, where it appeared in opposition to their private views and personal interests. After this, Lewis XIV. sent a solemn embassy [*p*], in the year 1638, to the king

☞ [*p*] The French bishops of *Heliopolis, Berytus,* and *Metellopolis,* that had been sent into *India* about the year 1663, had prepared the way for this embassy, and by an account of the favourable dispositions of the monarch then reigning at *Siam,* had encouraged the French king to make a new attempt for the establishment of Christianity in these distant regions. A fixed residence had been formed at *Siam* for the French missionaries, together with a seminary for instructing the youth in the languages of the circumjacent nations, who had all settlements, or *camps,* as they are called at the capital. A church was also erected there, by the king's permission, in the year 1667, and that prince proposed several questions to the missionaries, which seemed to discover a propensity to inform himself concerning their religion. The bishop of *Heliopolis,* who had gone back to *Europe* on the affairs of the mission, returned to *Siam* in the year 1673, with letters from Lewis XIV. and Pope Clement IX. accompanied with rich presents, to thank his Siamese majesty for the favours bestowed on the French bishops. In a private audience to which he was admitted, he explained, in an answer to a question proposed to him by the king of *Siam,* the motive that had engaged the French bishops to cross so many seas, and the French king to send his subjects to countries so far from home, observing, that a *strong desire in his prince, to extend the kingdom of the true God, was the sole reason of their voyage.* Upon this we are told, that the king of *Siam* offered a port in any part of his dominions, where a city might be built to the honour of Lewis the Great, and where, if he thought fit, he might send a viceroy to reside; and declared afterwards, in a public assembly of the grandees of his court, that he would leave all his subjects at liberty to embrace the Romish faith.—All this raised the hopes of the missionaries to a very high pitch; but the expectations they derived from thence of converting the king himself were entirely groundless, as may be seen from a very remarkable declaration of that monarch in the following note. See the *Relation des Missions et des Voyages des Eveques Francois,* passim.

king of *Siam*, whose prime minister, at that time, was a Greek Christian, named Constantine Faulkon, a man of an artful, ambitious, and enterprising spirit. The design of this embassy was to engage the Pagan prince to embrace Christianity, and to permit the propagation of the Gospel in his dominions. The ambassadors were attended by a great retinue of priests and Jesuits, some of whom were well acquainted with those branches of science that were agreeable to the taste of the king of *Siam*. It was only, however, among a small part of the people, that the labours of these missionaries were crowned with any degree of success; for the monarch himself, and the great men of his kingdom remained unmoved by their exhortations, and deaf to their instructions [*q*]. The king, indeed, though he chose to

☞ [*q*] When Monsieur De Chaumont, who was charged with this famous embassy, arrived at *Siam*, he presented a long memorial to the monarch of that country, intimating how solicitous the king of *France* was to have his *Siamese* majesty of the same religion with himself. Chaw Naraya (for so was the latter named), who seems to have always deceived the French by encouraging words, which administered hopes that he never intended to accomplish, answered this memorial in a very acute and artful manner. After asking who had made the king of *France* believe that he entertained any such sentiments, he desired his minister Faulkon to tell the French ambassador, "That he left it to his most Christian majesty to "judge, whether the change of a religion that had been fol- "lowed in his dominions without interruption, for 2229 "years, could be a matter of small importance to him, or a "demand with which it was easy to comply;—that besides, "he was much surprised to find the king of *France* concern "himself so zealously and so warmly in a matter which rela- "ted to *God* and not to *him;* and, in which, though it related "to God, the Deity did not seem to meddle at all, but left it "entirely to human discretion." The king asked, at the same time, "Whether the true God, that created heaven and "earth, and had bestowed on mankind such different natures "and inclinations, could not, when he gave to men, the same "bodies and souls, have also, if he had pleased, inspired

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to persevere in the religion of his ancestors, yet discovered a spirit of condescension and toleration towards the conductors of this mission: and his favourite Constantine had scarcely invited the French to *Siam* to support him in his authority, which was beheld with an envious eye by several of the grandees. So that as long as this prince and his minister lived, the French still retained some hopes of accomplishing their purpose, and of converting the inhabitants of *Siam* to the faith. But these hopes entirely vanished in the year 1688, when, in a popular sedition, excited and fomented by some prince of the blood, both king and minister were put to death [*r*]; and then the missionaries returned home.

In China.

IX. *China*, the most extensive and opulent of all the Asiatic kingdoms, could not but appear to

"them with the same religious sentiments, and have made all "nations live and die in the same laws. He added, That, "since order among men, and unity in religion, depend abso- "lutely on Divine Providence, who could as easily introduce "them into the world as that diversity of sects that prevails in "it, it is natural to conclude from thence, that the true God "takes as much pleasure to be honoured by different modes of "religion and worship, as to be glorified by a prodigious num- "ber of different creatures, who praise him every one in his own "way." He moreover asked, "Whether that beauty and va- "riety, which we admire in the order of nature, be less admi- "rable in the order of supernatural things, or less becoming in "the wisdom of God?—However that be (continued the king "of *Siam*) since we know that God is the absolute master of "the world, and that we are persuaded nothing comes to pass "contrary to his will, I resign my person and dominions into "the arms of his providence, and beseech his eternal wisdom "to dispose thereof according to his good will and plea- "sure." See Tachard, *Prem. Voyage de Siam*, p. 218; as also the *Journal of the Abbe* Choisi, who was employed in that embassy.

[*r*] An account of this embassy, and of the transactions of both ambassadors and missionaries, is given by Tachard, Chaumont, and La Loubert. The relations, however, of the author last mentioned, who was a man of learning and candour, deserve undoubtedly the preference.

to the missionaries and their constituents an object worthy of their pious zeal and ghostly ambition. And accordingly a numerous tribe of *Jesuits*, *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and *Capuchins*, set out, about the commencement of this century, with a view to enlighten that immense region with the knowledge of the Gospel. All these, however they differ in other matters, agree in proclaiming the astonishing success of their ministerial labours. It is nevertheless certain, that the principal honour of these religious exploits belongs to the Jesuits, who, with a peculiar degree of dexterity and address, removed the obstacles that were the most adapted to retard the progress of Christianity, among a people whose natural acuteness and pride were accompanied with a superstitious attachment to the religion and manners of their ancestors. These artful missionaries studied the temper, character, taste, inclinations and prejudices of the Chinese with incredible attention; and perceiving that their natural sagacity was attended with an ardent desire of improvement in knowledge, and that they took the highest pleasure in the study of the arts and sciences, and more especially in the mathematics, they lost no occasion of sending for such members of their Order as, besides their knowledge of mankind, and prudence, in transacting business, were also masters of the different branches of learning and philosophy. Some of these learned Jesuits acquired, in a very short space of time, such a high degree of credit and influence by their sagacity and eloquence, the insinuating sweetness and facility of their manners, and their surprising dexterity and skill in all kinds of transactions and affairs, that they came at length to the knowledge of the emperor, were loaded by him with the most honourable marks of distinction, and were employed in the most se-

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cret and important deliberations and affairs of the cabinet. Under the auspicious protection of such powerful patrons, the other missionaries, though of a lower rank and of inferior talents, were delivered from all apprehension of danger in the exercise of their ministry, and thus encouraged to exert themselves with spirit, vigour, and perseverance, in the propagation of the Gospel, in all the provinces of that mighty empire.

The progress of Christianity in China.

X. This promising aspect of things was clouded for some time, when Xun-chi, the first Chinese emperor of the Mogol race, died, and left a son under age as his only heir. The grandees of the empire, to whose tuition and care this young prince was committed, had long entertained an aversion to Christianity, and only sought for a convenient occasion of venting their rage against it. This occasion was now offered and greedily embraced. The guardians of the young prince abused his power to execute their vindictive purposes, and, after using their utmost efforts to extirpate Christianity wherever it was professed, they persecuted its patrons, more especially the Jesuits, with great bitterness, deprived them of all the honours and advantages they had enjoyed, and treated them with the utmost barbarity and injustice. John Adam Schaal, their chief, whose advanced age and extensive knowledge, together with the honourable place he held at court, seemed to demand some marks of exemption from the calamities that pursued his brethren, was thrown into prison, and condemned to death, while the other missionaries were sent into exile. These dismal scenes of persecution were exhibited in the year 1664; but, about five years after this gloomy period, when Kang-hi assumed the reins of government, a new face of things appeared. The Christian cause, and the labours of its ministers, not only resumed their former credit and vigour,

vigour, but in process of time, gained ground, and received such distinguished marks of protection from the throne, that the Jesuits usually date from this period the commencement of the golden age of Christianity in *China*. The new emperor, whose noble and generous spirit [*s*] was equal to the uncommon extent of his genius, and to his ardent curiosity in the investigation of truth, began his reign by recalling the Jesuits to his court, and restoring them to the credit and influence which they had formerly enjoyed. But his generosity and munificence did not stop here; for he sent to *Europe* for a still greater number of the members of that Order, such of them particularly as were eminent for their skill in the arts and sciences. Some of these he placed in the highest offices of the state, and employed in civil negociations and transactions of the greatest importance. Others he chose for his private friends and counsellors, who were to assist him with their advice in various matters, and to direct his philosophical and mathematical studies. These private friends and counsellors were principally chosen from among the French Jesuits. Thus the Order was raised in a little time, to the very summit of favour, and clothed with a degree of authority and lustre to which it had not hitherto attained. In such a state of things, it is but natural to conclude, that the Christian religion would not want powerful patrons, nor its preachers be left destitute and unsupported. And

 accordingly

[*s*] See Joach. Bouveti *Icon Regia Monarchæ Sinarum*, translated into Latin by the famous Leibnitz, and published in the year 1699, in the second part of his *Novissima Sinica*. See also Du Halde's *Description de la Chine*, and the *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. in which the Jesuits give an account of the success of their missions. In these productions, the virtues and talents of this emperor, which seem indeed to be universally acknowledged, are described and celebrated with peculiar encomiums.

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accordingly a multitude of spiritual labourers from all parts of *Europe* repaired to *China*, allured by the prospect of a rich, abundant, and glorious harvest. And, indeed, the success of their ministry seemed to answer fully the extent of their expectations; since it is well known that, with very little pains, and still less opposition, they made a prodigious number of converts to the profession of the Gospel. The triumph of Christianity seemed to be complete, when, in the year 1692, the emperor, from an excessive attachment to the Jesuits, issued out that remarkable edict, by which he declared, that the Christian religion was in no wise detrimental to the safety or interests of the monarchy, as its enemies pretended, and by which also he granted to all his subjects an entire freedom of conscience, and a full permission to embrace the Gospel. This triumph was still further confirmed, when the same prince, in the year 1700, ordered a magnificent church to be built for the Jesuits within the precincts of the imperial palace [*t*].

The Jesuits accused of fraudulent practices.

XI. This surprising success of the Christian cause was undoubtedly owing to the dexterity and perseverance of the Jesuits, as even the greatest enemies of that artful Order are obliged to acknowledge. But it is quite another question, whether

[*t*] There is a concise, but interesting account of these revolutions, given by Du Halde, in his *Desription de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 128, and by the Jesuit Fontaney, in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, tom. viii. p. 176.—They are related in a more diffuse and ample manner by other writers.—See Suarez, *De Libertate Religionem Christianum apud Sinas, propagandi Narratio*, published in the year 1698, by Libnitz, in the first part of his *Novissima Sinica*. The other authors who have treated this branch of history are mentioned by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exoriens*, cap. xxxix. p. 663. See also an *Ecclesiastical History of China*, which I published in *German* in the year 1748. ☞ This History was translated into English and published in the year 1750, with this title; *Authentic Memoirs of the Christian Church in China.*

whether this success was obtained by methods agreeable to the dictates of reason and conscience, and consistent with the dignity and genius of the Christian religion? This latter point has been long debated, with great animosity and vehemence, on both sides; and the contention is not yet ended. The adversaries of the Jesuits, whose opposition is as keen as their numbers are formidable, and more especially the Jansenists and Dominicans assert boldly, that the success above mentioned was obtained by the most odious frauds, nay, even in many cases, by the most detestable crimes. They charge the Jesuits with having given a false exposition and a spurious account of the ancient religion of the Chinese, and with having endeavoured to persuade the emperor and the Chinese nobility, that the primitive theology of their nation, and the doctrine of their great instructor and philosopher Confucius, differed almost in nothing from the doctrine of the Gospel. They are further charged with having invented a variety of historical fictions, in order to persuade the Chinese (who are vehemently attached to whatever carries the air of a remote antiquity), that Jesus Christ had been known and worshipped in their nation many ages ago; and these fictions are supposed to have prejudiced the emperor in favour of Christianity, and to have engaged certain grandees of the kingdom, not only to grant their protection and favour to the Jesuits, but even to become members of their society. Nor do the accusations brought against the disciples of Loyola end here; for they are said to have entirely lost sight of all the duties and obligations that are incumbent on the ministers of Christ, and the heralds of a spiritual kingdom, by not only accepting of worldly honours and places of civil authority and power, but even aspiring after them with all the ardour

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of an insatiable ambition, by boasting, with an arrogant vanity, of the protection and munificence of the emperor, by deserting the simplicity of a frugal and humble appearance, and indulging themselves in all circumstances of external pomp and splendor, such as costly garments, numerous retinues, luxurious tables, and magnificent houses. To all which it is added, that they employed much more zeal and industry in the advancement of human science, especially the mathematics, than in promoting Christian knowledge and virtue; and that they even went so far as to meddle in military matters, and to concern themselves, both personally and by their counsels, in the bloody scenes of war. While these heavy crimes are laid to the charge of those Jesuits, who, by their capacity and talents, had been raised to a high degree of credit in the empire, the more obscure members of that same Order, who were appointed more immediately to instruct the Chinese in the truths of the Gospel, are far from being considered as blameless. They are accused as spending in the practice of usury, and in various kinds of traffic, the precious moments which ought to have been consecrated to the functions of their ministry, and of using low and dishonourable methods of advancing their fortunes, and insinuating themselves into the favour of the multitude. The Jesuits acknowledged, that a part of these accusations are founded upon facts; but they give a specious colour to those facts, and use all their artifice and eloquence to justify what they cannot deny. Other articles of these complaints they treat as groundless, and as the fictions of calumny, that are invented with no other design than to cast a reproach upon their Order. An impartial inquirer into these matters will perhaps find, that if, in several points, the Jesuits defend themselves in a very weak and unsatisfactory

satisfactory manner, there are others, in which their misconduct seems to have been exaggerated by envy and prejudice in the complaints of their adversaries.

An account of the principal charge brought against the Jesuits.

XII. The grand accusation that is brought against the Jesuits in *China*, is this: That they make an impious mixture of light and darkness, of Chinese superstition and Christian truth, in order to triumph with the greater speed and facility over the prejudices of that people against the doctrine of the Gospel; and that they allow their converts to retain the profane customs and the absurd rights of their Pagan ancestors. Ricci, who was the founder of the Christian church in that famous monarchy, declared it as his opinion, that the greatest part of those rites, which the Chinese are obliged by the laws of their country to perform, might be innocently observed by the new converts. To render this opinion less shocking, he supported and explained it upon the following principle; that these rights were of a *civil* and not of a *sacred* nature; that they were invented from views of policy, and not from any purposes of religion; and that none but the very dregs of the populace in *China*, considered them in any other light [*u*]. This opinion was not only rejected by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were associated with the Jesuits in this important mission, but also by some even of the most learned Jesuits both in *China*, and *Japan*, and particularly by Nicholas Lombard, who published a memorial, containing the reasons [*v*] upon which his

[*u*] See Mammachii *Origen. et Antiquit. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 373.

[*v*] See Chr. Kortholti *Præfatio ad Volumen* II. *Epistolar. Leibnitiar.* sect. vi. p. 18. who has likewise subjoined to this work the pieces composed against the Jesuits by Lombard and Anthony de S. Maria, with the remarks of Leibnitz. There is also inserted in this collection (p. 413.) an ample dissertation on the Chinese philosophy, drawn up by Leibnitz, who pleads therein the cause of the Jesuits.

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his dissent was founded. This contest, which was long carried on in a private manner, was brought, by the Dominicans, before the tribunal of the pontiff, in the year 1645, and from that period contiuned to produce great divisions, commotions, and caballing in the church of *Rome*. Innocent X. in the year now mentioned, pronounced in favour of the Dominicans, and highly condemned the Indulgence which the Jesuits had shewn to the Chinese superstitions. But, about eleven years after, this sentence, though not formally reversed, was nevertheless virtually annulled by Alexander VII. at the instigation of the Jesuits, who persuaded that pontiff to allow the Chinese converts the liberty of performing several of the rites to which they had been accustomed, and for which they discovered a peculiar fondness. This, however, did not hinder the Dominicans from renewing their complaints in the year 1661; and again, in 1674, under the pontificate of Innocent XI; though the power and credit of the Jesuits seemed to triumph over all their remonstrances. This fatal dispute which had been suspended for several years in *China*, broke out there again, in the year 1684, with greater violence than ever; and then the victory seemed to incline to the side of the Dominicans in consequence of a decision pronounced in the year 1693, by Charles Maigrot, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who acted as the delegate, or vicar of the Roman pontiff, in the province of *Fokien*, and who was afterwards consecrated titular bishop of *Conon*. This ecclesiastic, by a public edict, declared the opinions and practices of the Jesuits, in relation to the affairs of the Chinese mission, absolutely inconsistent with the purity and simplicity of the Christian religion.—But the pope, to whose supreme cognizance and decision Maigrot had submitted this important edict

edict, refused to come to a determination on either side, before the matter in debate had been carefully examined, and the reasons of the contending parties weighed with the utmost attention; and therefore, in the year 1699, he appointed a congregation of chosen doctors to examine and decide this tedious controversy. This resolution of the Roman pontiff was no sooner made public, than all the enemies of the Jesuits, in all quarters of the church of *Rome*, and more especially those who wished ill to the Order in *France*, came forth with their complaints, their accusations, and invectives; and loaded the transactions and reputation of the whole society with the most bitter reproaches [*w*]. The Jesuits, on the other hand, were neither silent or inactive. They attacked their adversaries with vigour, and defended themselves with dexterity and spirit [*x*]. —But the conclusion of this critical and momentous contest belongs to the history of the following century.

XIII. If,

☞ [*w*] See the *Lettres de Messieurs des Missions Etrangeres au Pape, sur les Idolatries et les Superstitions Chinoises—Revocation de l'Approbation donnee en* 1787, *per M. Brisacier, Superieur des Missionis Etrangeres, au Livre de la Defense de nouveaux Chretiens et des Missionaries de la Chine.—Deux Lettres d'un Docteur de l'Ordre de St. Dominique au R. P. Dez, Provincial des Jesuits, sur les ceremonies de la Chine.* These tracts are all printed together in one volume 12mo, without any date, or name of the place where published, though the treatises themselves are all dated 1700. N.

[*x*] Du Halde, *Description des la Chine,* tom. iii. p. 142. —See the enumeration of other writers on the same subject. given by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exoriens,* cap. xxxix. p. 665.—See also Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis* XIV. tom. ii. p. 318.—But the most ingenious patron of the Jesuits, on this occasion, was Father Daniel, himself a member of that famous order: See his *Histoire Apologetique de la conduite des Jesuits de la Chine,* in the third volume of his *Opuscules,* p. 1.

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The subject of the dispute between the Chinese Missionaries reducible to two great points:

XIII. If, in considering this controversy, which employed the ablest pens of the Romish church, we confine our attention to the merits of the cause, (passing over what personally concerns the Jesuits, with some other questions of a minute and incidental kind,) it will appear, that the whole dispute turns essentially upon two great points; the one relating to the *Chinese notion* of the *Supreme Being;* and the other to the *nature* of those honours, which that people offered to *certain persons deceased.*

First point.

As to the first of these points, it is to be observed, that the Chinese call the supreme object of their religious worship Tien and Shang-ti, which, in their language, signify the *Heavens:* and that the Jesuits employ the same terms when they speak of the true God, who is adored by the Christians. From hence it is inferred, that they make no sort of distinction between the supreme God of the Chinese, and the infinitely perfect Deity of the Christians: or (to express the same thing in other words) that they imagine the Chinese entertain the same notions concerning their Tien, or *Heaven,* that the Christians do concerning the God they adore. The question then relative to this first point is properly as follows: "Do "the Chinese understand by the denominations "above-mentioned, the *visible and material Hea-* "*vens?* or are these terms on the contrary, em- "ployed by them to represent the *Lord of these* "*Heavens,* i. e. an eternal and all perfect Being, "who presides over universal nature, and, from "heaven, the immediate residence of his glory, "governs all things with unerring wisdom?" or, to express this question in fewer words, "Do the "Chinese mean, by their Tien, such a Deity as "the Christians adore?" This question the Jesuits answer in the affirmative. They maintain, that the ancient Chinese philosophers, who had an

an accurate knowledge of the great principles of natural religion, represented the supreme Being almost under the very same characters that are attributed to him by Christians; and hence they not only allow their Chinese disciples to employ the terms already mentioned in their prayers to the Deity, and in their religious discourse, but even use their terms themselves, when they pronounce the name of God in their public instructions, or in private conversation. The adversaries of the Jesuits maintain the negative of this question, regard the ancient philosophy of the Chinese as an impure source of blasphemy and impiety, and affirm, that it confounded the Divine Nature with that of the universe. They assert further, that the famous Confucius, whose name and writings are held in such veneration by the people of *China*, was totally ignorant of divine truth, destitute of religious principle, and traced the origin of all things that exist from an *internal* and *inevitable necessity*. This contest, concerning the first point that divided the Chinese missionaries, produced a multitude of learned dissertations on the manners, laws, and opinions of the ancient inhabitants of *China*, and gave rise to several curious discoveries. But all these were insufficient to serve the chief purpose they were designed to accomplish, since they were far from giving a satisfactory and clear decision of the matter in debate. It still remained a question, which were most to be believed,—the Jesuits or their adversaries? and the impartial inquirer, after long examination, thought it prudent to trust entirely to neither; since if it appeared on the one hand, that the Tien, or supreme God of the Chinese, was much inferior, in perfection and excellence, to the God of the Christians, it was equally evident, on the other, that this Chinese Deity was looked upon by his worshippers as entirely distinct

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tinct from the material Æther and the visible Heavens.

Second point.

XIV. As to the other point in dispute, it must be previously observed, that the ancient laws of *China* oblige the natives of that vast region to perform, annually, at a stated time, in honour of their ancestors, certain rites, which seem to be of a religious nature. It is to be observed further, that it is a custom among the learned to pay likewise, at stated times, to the memory of Confucius, whom the Chinese consider as the oracle of all wisdom and knowledge, certain marks of veneration that have undoubtedly a religious aspect, and that are, moreover, performed in a kind of temples erected to that great and illustrious philosopher. Hence then ariseth a second question, which is thus proposed: "Are those honours that the Chinese, in "general, pay to the memory of their ancestors, "and which the learned, in particular, offer at "the shrine of Confucius, of a *civil* or *sacred* na- "ture? Are they to be considered as *religious* "*offerings*, or are they no more than *political insti-* "*tutions* designed to promote some public good!" The Jesuits affirm, that the ancient Chinese lawgivers established these rites with no other view than to keep the people in order, and to maintain the tranquillity of the state; and that the Chinese did not pay any religious worship, either to the memory of Confucius, or to the departed souls of their ancestors, but only declared, by the performance of certain rites, their gratitude and respect to both, and their solemn resolution to imitate their virtues, and follow their illustrious examples. From hence these missionaries conclude, that the Chinese converts to Christianity might be permitted to perform these ceremonies according to the ancient custom of their country, provided they understood their true nature, and kept always

ways in remembrance the political views with which they were instituted, and the civil purposes they were designed to serve. By this specious account of things, the conduct of the Jesuits is, in some measure, justified. But let this representation be true or false, it will still remain evident, that, in order to render the Christian cause triumphant in *China*, some such concessions and accommodations as those of the Jesuits seem almost absolutely necessary; and they who desire the *end* must submit to the use of the *means* [*y*]. The necessity of these concessions arises from this remarkable circumstance, that by a solemn law, of ancient date, it is positively declared, that no man shall be esteemed a good citizen, or be looked upon as qualified to hold any public office in the state, who neglects the observance of the rites and ceremonies now under consideration. On the other hand, the Dominicans and the other adversaries of the Jesuits, maintain, that the rites in question form an important branch of the Chinese religion; that the honours paid by the Chinese to Confucius, and to the souls of their ancestors, are not of a civil, but of a religious nature [*z*]; and consequently, that all who perform these

☞ [*y*] True: if the *means* be not either criminal in themselves, pernicious in their consequences, or of such a nature as to defeat, in a great measure, the benefits and advantages proposed by the *end*. And it is a very nice and momentous question, whether the concessions pleaded for in behalf of the Chinese converts, by the Jesuits, are not to be ranked among the means here characterised. See the following note.

☞ [*z*] The public honours paid to Confucius twice a year, used to be performed before his statue, erected in the great hall or temple that is dedicated to his memory. At present they are performed before a kind of *Tables*, placed in the most conspicuous part of the edifice, with the following inscription: *The Throne of the Soul of the most Holy and the most Excellent chief-teacher* Confucius. The *literati*, or learned, celebrated this famous festival in the following manner:—The chief

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these rites are chargeable with insulting the majesty of God, to whom alone all divine worship is due, and cannot be looked upon as true Christians. This

chief mandarin of the place exercises the office of priest, and the others discharge the functions of deacons, sub-deacons, and so on. A certain sacrifice, called Ci, which consists of wine, blood, fruits, &c. is offered, after the worshippers have prepared themselves for this ceremony by fasting and other acts of abstinence and mortification. They kneel before the *inscription*, prostrate the body nine times before it, until the head touches the ground, repeat a great variety of prayers; after which the priest, taking in one hand a cup full of wine, and in the other a like cup filled with blood, makes a solemn libation to the deceased, and dismisses the assembly with a blessing. The rites performed by families, in honour of their deceased parents, are pretty much of the same nature.

Now, in order to know, with certainty, whether this festival and these rites be of a *civil* or *religious* nature, we have only to inquire, whether they be the same with those ceremonies that are performed by the Chinese, in the worship they pay to certain celestial and terrestrial *spirits*, or *genii*, which worship is undoubtedly of a religious kind. The learned Leibnitz * undertook to affirm, that the services now mentioned were not of the same kind, and, consequently, that the Jesuits were accused unjustly. But that great man does not appear to have examined this matter with his usual sagacity and attention: for it is evident, from a multitude of relations every way worthy of credit, and particularly, from the observations made on the Chinese missions by that learned and candid Franciscan, Antonio de S. Maria †, not only that Confucius was worshipped among the *idols*, and the *celestial and terrestrial spirits* of the Chinese, but that the oblations and ceremonies observed in honour of him, were perfectly the same with those that were performed as acts of worship to these *idols* and *spirits*. Those that desire a more ample account of this matter may consult the followidg authors: Budæi *Annal. Histor. Philos.* p. 287. where he treats *De superstitioso Demortuorum apud Sinenses Cultu.*—Wolfii *Not. ad Casaubon.* p. 342.—Nic Charmos, *Annot. ad Maigrotti Historiam Cultus Sinenses.*—But more especially Arnand, *Morale Pratique des Jesuites*, tom. iii. vi. vii. and a collection of historical relations, published at *Cologn*, in 8vo, in the year 1700, under the following title: *Historia Cultus Sinensium, seu varia Scripta de Cultibus Sinarum inter Vicarios Apostolicos*, & P. P. S. I. *controversiis.*

* See *Præf. Novissim. Sinicorum.* † See vol. ii. *Epp. Leibnitz.*

This account of matters is so specious and probable, and the consequences deducible from it are so natural and just, that the more equitable and impartial among the Jesuits have acknowledged the difficulties that attend the cause they maintain; and taking, at length, refuge in the plea of necessity, allege, that certain evils and inconveniences may be lawfully submitted to when they are requisite in order to the attainment of extensive, important, and salutary purposes.

The state of Christianity in Japan.

XV. The ministerial labours of the Romish missionaries, and, more especially, of the Jesuits, were crowned in *Japan* with surprising success, towards the commencement of this century, and made an incredible number of converts to the Christian religion [*a*]. But this prosperous and flourishing

☞ [*a*] Two peculiar circumstances contributed to facilitate the progress of the Romish religion in *Japan*. The *first* was the uncharitable severity and cruelty of the Japanese priests or *bonzas* towards the sick and indigent, compared with the humanity, zeal, and beneficence of the missionaries. These *bonzas* represented the poor and infirm not as objects of pity, but as wretches loaded with the displeasure of the gods, and abandoned to present and future misery by the judgments of heaven; and inspired the rich with a contempt and abhorrence of them. The Christian religion, therefore, which declares that poverty and afflictions are often surer marks of the divine favour than grandeur and prosperity, and that the transitory evils which the righteous endure here, shall be crowned with everlasting glory and felicity hereafter, was every way proper to comfort this unhappy class of persons, and could not but meet with a most favourable reception among them. Add to this, that the missionaries were constantly employed in providing them with food, physic, and habitations. A *second* circumstance that was advantageous to Christianity (that is, to such a form of Christianity as the Popish missionaries preached in *Japan*), was a certain resemblance or analogy between it and some practices and sentiments that prevailed among the Japanese. These Indians look for present and future felicity only through the merits of *Xaca Amida*, and other of their Deities, who after a long course of severe mortifications freely undertaken, had voluntarily, also, put an end to their lives. They sainted many melancholy persons who had

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flourishing state of the church was somewhat interrupted by the prejudices that the priests and grandees of the kingdom had conceived against the new religion, prejudices which proved fatal, in many places, both to those who embraced it, and to those who taught it. The cause of Christianity did not, however, suffer only from the virulence and malignity of its enemies; it was wounded in the house of its friends, and received, no doubt some detriment from the intestine quarrels and contentions of those to whom the care of the rising church was committed. For the same scenes and fraternal discord, that had given such offence in the other Indian provinces, were renewed in *Japan*, where the *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and *Augustinians* were at perpetual variance with the *Jesuits*. This variance produced, on both sides, the heaviest accusations, and the most bitter reproaches. The Jesuits were charged by the missionaries of the three Orders now mentioned, with insatiable avarice, with shewing an excessive indulgence, both to the vices and superstitions of the Japanese, with crafty and low practices unworthy of the ministers of Christ, with an ambitious thirst after authority

had been guilty of suicide, celebrated their memories, and implored their intercession and good offices. They used processions, statues, candles, and perfumes in their worship; as also prayers for the dead, and auricular confession; and had monasteries founded for certain devout persons of both sexes, who lived in celibacy, solitude, and abstinence: so that the Japanese religion was no bad preparation for Popery. Besides these two circumstances, another may be mentioned, which we take from the letters of the Jesuits themselves, who inform us, that the maritime princes of *Japan* were so fond of this new commerce with the Portuguese, that they strove who should oblige them most, and encouraged the missionaries, less perhaps from a principle of zeal, than from views of interest. See Varenius, *Descript. Japon.* lib. iii. cap. vi. x. *Modern Univ. History*, vol. ix. p. 24. edit. 8vo.

authority and dominion, and other misdemeanours of a like nature. These accusations were not only exhibited at the court of *Rome*, but were spread abroad in every part of *Christendom*. The disciples of Loyola were by no means silent under these reproaches; but in their turn charged their accusers with imprudence, ignorance of the world, obstinacy, asperity of manners, and a disgusting rusticity in their way of living; adding, that these circumstances rendered their ministry rather detrimental than advantageous to the cause of Christianity, among a people remarkable for their penetration, generosity, and magnificence. Such then were the contests that arose among the missionaries in *Japan;* and nothing but the amazing progress that Christianity had already made, and the immense multitude of those that had embraced it, could have prevented these contests from being fatal to its interests. As the case stood, neither the cause of the Gospel, nor its numerous professors, received any essential damage from these divisions; and, if no other circumstance had intervened to stop its progress, an expedient might have probably been found out, either to heal these divisions, or at least to appease them so far as to prevent their noxious and fatal consequences [*b*].

Its downfal and extirpation.

XVI. But a new and dreadful scene of opposition arose, in the year 1615, to blast the hopes of those who wished well to the cause of Christianity in *Japan*. For, in that year, the emperor issued out, against the professors and ministers of that divine religion, a persecuting edict, which was executed with a degree of barbarity unparalleled in the annals of the Christian history. This

[*b*] See the writers on this subject enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exoriens*, p. 678. as also Charlevoix, *Histoire de Japon*, tom. ii. livr. xi. p. 57.

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cruel persecution raged, during the space of many years, with unrelenting fury, and only ended with the total extinction of Christianity throughout that mighty empire. That religion, which had been suffered to make such a rapid and triumphant progress in Japan, was at length considered as detrimental to the interests of the monarchy, inconsistent with the good of the people, derogatory from the majesty of their high priest, whom they revered as a person descended from the gods, and, on these accounts, was judged unworthy not only of protection, but even of toleration. This judgment was followed with the fatal Order, by which all foreigners, that were Christians, and more especially the Spanish and Portuguese, were commanded to depart the kingdom; and the natives, who had embraced the Gospel, to renounce the name and doctrine of Christ, on pain of death presented to them in the most dreadful forms. This tremendous Order was the signal for the perpetration of such horrors as the most sanguine and atrocious imagination will scarcely be able to conceive. Innumerable multitudes of the Japanese Christians of each sex, and of all ages, ranks, and stations, expired with magnanimous constancy amidst the most dreadful torments, rather than apostatize from the faith they had embraced. And here it may not be amiss to observe, that both the Jesuits and their adversaries in the missions expiated, in some measure, if I may so express myself, by the agonies they endured, and the fortitude with which they suffered, the faults they had committed in the exercise of their ministry. For it is well known, that the greatest part of them died magnanimously for the cause of Christ by the hands of the executioner, and that some of them even expired with triumphant feelings of satisfaction and joy.

Historians

Historians are not entirely agreed with respect to the real causes of this merciless persecution. The Jesuits consider it as owing, in part, to the imprudence of the Dominicans and Franciscans; while these latter impute it, in a great measure, to the covetous, arrogant, and factious spirit of the Jesuits [*c*]. Both parties accuse the English and Dutch of having excited in the emperor of *Japan* a strong prejudice against the Spaniards, Portuguese, and the Roman pontiff, to the end that they alone might engross the commerce of that vast monarchy, and be unrivalled in their credit among that powerful people. The English and Dutch allege, on the other hand, that they never attempted to undermine, by any false accusations, the credit of the Roman-catholics, in that kingdom, but only detected the perfidious plots the Spaniards had laid against it. Almost all the historians, who have given accounts of this country, unanimously inform us, that certain letters, intercepted by the Dutch, and other circumstances of a very striking and alarming kind, had persuaded the emperor, that the Jesuits, as also the other missionaries, had formed seditious

 designs

[*c*] There is a concise and sensible account of this tedious dispute in the sixth discourse that is subjoined to the English edition of Kaempfer's *History of Japan*, Sect. iv. p. 64—75. But it will be also proper to see what is said on the other side, by an author, who, in his long and circumstantial narration, has not omitted any incident, however minute, that tends, in the least, to disculpate the Jesuits, or to procure them indulgence; that author is Charlevoix; see his *Histoire Generale de Japan*, tom. ii. livr. xii. p. 136. The other historians that may be consulted with utility, on this subject, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exoriens*, cap. x. p. 678. Add to these the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. *Mens. Februar.* p. 723. where there is not only a history of the commencement and progress of Christianity in *Japan*, but also an account of the lives and martyrdom of those who first suffered for the cause of the gospel in that kingdom. See likewise Mammachii *Origines et Antiquitat. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 376.

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designs against his government, and aimed at nothing less than exciting their numerous disciples to rebellion, with a view to reduce the kingdom of *Japan* under the dominion of *Spain* [*d*]. A discovery of this nature could not but make the most dreadful impressions upon a prince naturally suspicious and cruel, such, as the emperor then reigning was; and indeed so it happened; for the moment he received this information, he concluded, with equal precipitation and violence that he could not sit secure on his throne, while the smallest spark of Christianity remained unextinguished in his dominions, or any of its professors breathed under his government. It is from this remarkable period, that we must date the severe edict by which all Europeans are forbidden to approach the Japanese dominions, and in consequence of which all the terrors of fire and sword are employed to destroy whatever carries the remotest aspect or shadow of the Christian doctrine. The only exception to this universal law is made in favour of an handful of Dutch merchants, who are allowed to import annually a certain quantity of European commodities, and have a factory, or rather a kind of prison, allowed them, in one of the extremities of the kingdom, where they are strictly watched, and rigorously confined from all communication with the natives, but what is essentially necessary to the commerce they are permitted to carry on.

Protestant missions in Asia.

XVII. The example of the Roman-catholic states could not but excite a spirit of pious emulation in Protestant countries, and induce them to propagate a still purer form of Christianity among

☞ [*d*] The discoveries made by the Dutch were against the Portuguese, with whom they were then at war; so that instead of *Spain*, our author should have said *Portugal*. See Kaempfer *loc. cit.* as also the *Universal Modern History*, vol. ix. p. 145. note (*z*) edit. 8vo.

among those unhappy nations that lay groveling in the darkness of paganism and idolatry. Accordingly the Lutherans were, on several occasions, solicited by persons of eminent merit and rank in their communion, to embark in this pious and generous undertaking. Justinian Ernest, baron of Wells, distinguished himself by the zealous appearance he made in this good cause, having formed a plan of a society that was to be intrusted with the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, and that was to bear the name of Jesus, the divine founder of the religion they were to promote [*e*]. But several circumstances concurred to prevent the execution of this pious design, among which we may reckon, principally the peculiar situation of the Lutheran princes, of whom very few have either territories, forts, or settlements beyond the limits of *Europe*.

This was by no means the case with the princes and states who professed the Reformed religion. The English and Dutch, more especially, whose ships covered the ocean, and sailed to the most distant corners of the globe, and who, moreover, in this century, had sent colonies to *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, had abundant opportunities of spreading abroad the knowledge of Christianity among the unenlightened nations. Nor were these opportunities entirely neglected or misimproved, notwithstanding the reports that have generally prevailed, of their being much more zealous in engrossing the riches of the Indians than in bringing about their conversion; though it may, perhaps, be granted, that neither of these nations exerted themselves, to the extent of their power, in this salutary undertaking. In the year 1647,

[*e*] See Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 75. as also a German work of the learned Arnold, entitled *Kirchen and Ketzer Historie*, part II. book xviii. c. xv. sect. 23. p. 1066, part III. cap. xv. sect. 13. p. 150.

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the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts was committed, by an act of the English parliament, to the care and inspection of a society composed of persons of eminent rank and merit. The civil wars that ensued suspended the execution of the plans that were laid for carrying on this salutary work. In the year 1661, under the reign of Charles II. the work was resumed, and the society re-established. In the year 1701, this respectable society received singular marks of protection and favour from King William III. who enriched it with new donations and privileges [*f*]. Since that period, even to the present time, it has been distinguished by ample marks of the munificence of the kings of *England*, and of the liberality of persons of all ranks and orders, and has been, and continues to be, eminently useful in facilitating the means of instruction to the nations that lie in Pagan darkness, and more especially to the Americans. Nor are the laudable efforts of the United Provinces, in the advancement and propagation of Christian knowledge, to be passed over in silence; since they also are said to have converted to the Gospel a prodigious number of Indians, in the islands of *Ceylon*, and *Formosa*, the coasts of *Malabar*, and other Asiatic settlements, which they either had acquired by their own industry, or obtained by conquest from the Portuguese [*g*]. Some historians, perhaps may have exaggerated in their relations, the number of proselytes made by the Dutch; it is nevertheless most certain, that as soon as that nation had got a sufficient footing in the *East Indies*, they laid with wisdom and executed

[*f*] See Humphrey's *Account of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.*

[*g*] See *Epist. de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Orientales ad Johan Leusdenium scriptas et Ultraject*, 1699, in 8vo. *editas.*

executed at a great expence, various schemes for instructing the natives of those distant regions in the doctrines of the gospel [*h*]. CENT. XVII. SECT. I.

XVIII. The inward parts of *Africa* remain still in the darkness of Paganism, as they have been hitherto inaccessible to the most adventurous of the Europeans. But in the maritime provinces of that great *peninsula*, and more especially in those where the Portuguese have their settlements, there are several districts in which the religion of *Rome* has prevailed over the savage superstitions of that barbarous region. It is nevertheless acknowledged, by the more ingenious historians, even among the Roman Catholics, who have given accounts of the African colonies, that, of the proselytes made there to the Gospel, a very small number deserve the denomination of Christians; since the greatest part of them retain the abominable superstitions of their ancestors, and the very best among them dishonour their profession by various practices of a most vicious and corrupt nature. Any progress that Christianity made in these parts must be chiefly attributed to the zealous labours of the Capuchin missionaries, who, in this century, suffered the most dreadful hardships and discouragements in their attempts to bring the fierce and savage Africans under the Christian yoke. These attempts succeeded so far, as to gain over to the profession of the Gospel the kings of *Benin* and *Awerri* [*i*], and also to engage the cruel and intrepid Anna Cingha, queen of *Metamba*, and all her subjects, to embrace in the year The African mission.

[*h*] See Braun's *Veritable Religion des Hollandois*, p. 71. 267, &c. This *Treatise*, which was published at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1675, was designed as an answer to a malignant libel of one Stoup, entitled *La Religion des Hollandois*, in which that writer proposed to persuade the world that the Dutch had almost no religion at all.

[*i*] Called by some *Overne*.

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year 1652, the Christian faith [*k*]. The African missions were allotted to this austere Order by the court of *Rome*, and by the society *de propaganda fide* for wise reasons; since none were so proper to undertake an enterprise attended with such dreadful hardships, difficulties, and perils, as a set of men whose monastic institute had rendered familiar to them the severest acts of mortification, abstinence, and penance, and thus prepared them for the bitterest scenes of trial and adversity. The *Capuchins* also seem to have been alone honoured with this sacred, but arduous commission; nor does it appear that the other Orders beheld, with the smallest sentiment of envy, their dear-bought glory.

XIX. The extensive continent of *America* swarms with colonies from *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *France* [*l*], all which profess the Christian religion as

☞ [*k*] For a more ample account of this Queen, and her conversion, Dr. Mosheim refers the reader (in his note [*r*]) to Urban Cerri's *Etat Present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 222, and to the third and fourth volumes of Father Labat's *Relation Historique de l'Afrique Occidentale*, in the former of which he tells us, there is a French translation of Ant. Gavazzi's account of *Africa*. All these citations are inaccurate. Cerri makes no mention of Zingha, nor of Metamba, nor are they mentioned by Labat, in any of the five volumes of his *Historical Relation*, here quoted; nor is Gavazzi's account translated in that work.—In general it may be observed, that the missions in *Africa* were greatly neglected by the Portuguese, and that the few missionaries sent thither were men absolutely void of learning, and destitute almost of every qualification that was necessary to the carrying on such an important undertaking. See Labat's Preface to his *Relation Historique de l'Afrique Occidentale*; as also the *Modern Universal History*, vol. xiv. p. 10, 11. edit. 8vo.

[*l*] See the Authors mentioned by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii Orbem Terrarum collustrans*, cap. xlviii. xlix. p. 769. —There is a cursory account of the state of the Romish religion, in that part of *America*, which is possessed by the European Roman Catholics, in Urban Cerri's *Etat Present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 245.

as it has been disfigured by the church of *Rome*. But it is abundantly known, that these colonists, more especially the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, are the most worthless and profligate set of men that bear the Christian name; and this fact is confirmed by the testimonies, of several Roman Catholic writers of great merit and authority, who cannot be suspected of partiality in this matter. Nay, the clergy themselves are not excepted in this general condemnation; but as we learn from the same credible testimonies, surpass even the idolatrous natives in the ridiculous rites which they perform in the worship of God, as well as in the licentiousness of their manners, and the enormity of the crimes they commit without reluctance. Those of the ancient inhabitants of *America*, who either have submitted to the European yoke, or live near their colonies, have imbibed some faint knowledge of the Romish religion, from the Jesuits, Franciscans, and other ecclesiastics; but these feeble rays of instruction are totally clouded by the gloomy suggestions of their native superstition, and the corrupt influence of their barbarous customs and manners. As to those Indians who live more remote from the European settlements, and wander about in the woods without any fixed habitation, they are absolutely incapable either of receiving or retaining any adequate notions of the Christian doctrine, unless they be previously reclaimed from that vagrant manner of life, and civilized by an intercourse with persons, whose humane and insinuating manners are adapted to attract their love, and excite their imitation. This the Jesuits, and other ecclesiastics of different Orders, in the church of *Rome*, who have been sent in later times to convert these wandering savages, have found by a constant and uniform

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uniform experience [*m*]. Hence the former have erected cities, and founded civil societies, cemented by government and laws, like the European states, in several Indian provinces both in *South* and *North America;* and it is on this account that they discharge the double functions of magistrates and doctors among these their new subjects and disciples, whose morals and sentiments, it is said they endeavour to preserve pure and uncorrupted, by permitting few or no Europeans to approach them [*n*]. These arduous and difficult attempts have furnished to the disciples of Loyola ample matter of boasting, and a lucky occasion of extolling the zeal, the dexterity, and industry of their Order. But it has appeared, from relations worthy of credit, that these exploits of the Jesuits, in the internal and more inaccessible provinces of *America*, are not so much carried on with a view to the propagation of Christianity, as with an intention to gratify their own insatiable avarice and boundless ambition. And, accordingly, they are reported to send yearly to the members of their Order, in *Europe*, immense quantities of gold, drawn from several American provinces where they have power and property, but chiefly from *Paraguay*, which belongs to them alone [*o*].

XX. The

[*m*] A great variety of facts are alleged as a proof of this, in the *Letters* in which the French Jesuits gave their friends in *Europe* an account of the success and fruits of their mission, and which are regularly published at *Paris*.

☞ [*n*] That this was by no means the only, nor even the principal reason of cutting off all communication between the Indians and Europeans, will appear evident from the contents of the following note:

[*o*] While Father Labat was at *Rome*, Father Tamburini, at that time general of the Jesuits, asked him several questions relating to the progress of Christianity in *America;* to which, with equal courage and candour, he gave immediately this general

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XX. The cause of Christianity was promoted with more wisdom, and consequently with better success, in those parts of *America* where the English formed settlements during this century; and, though

general answer: "that the Gospel had made little or no real "progress in that country; that he had never met with one "adult person among the Americans who could be esteemed "a true proselyte to Christianity; and that the missionaries "could scarcely pretend to any other exploits (*of a spiritual "kind*) than their having baptized some children at the point "of death *." He added, at the same time, "that, in order "to make the Americans *Christians*, it was previously neces- "sary to make them *men*." This bold Dominican, who had been himself a missionary in the American islands, had a great mind to give Tamburini some seasonable advice concerning the immense wealth and authority that the Jesuits had acquired in these parts of the world; but the cunning old man eluded artfully this part of the conversation, and turned it upon another subject. Lebat, gave, upon another occasion, a still greater proof of his undaunted spirit and presence of mind; for when, in an audience granted him by Clement XI. that pontiff praised, in pompous terms, the industry and zeal of the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries in promoting the salvation of the Americans, and reproached the French with inactivity and indifference in a matter of such high importance, our resolute Dominican told him plainly, "that the Spaniards "and Portuguese boasted of the success of their labours with- "out any sort of foundation; since it was well known, that, "instead of *converts*, they had only made *hypocrites*, all their "disciples among the Indians having been forced, by the "dread of punishment and the terrors of death, to embrace "Christianity;" adding moreover, "that such as had received "baptism continued as open and egregious idolaters as they "had been before their profession of Christianity †." To this account we might add the relations of a whole cloud of witnesses, whose testimonies are every way worthy of credit, and who declare unanimously the same thing. See, among others, a remarkable piece, entitled, *Memoire touchant l'Etablissement considerable des Peres Jesuites dans les Indes d'Espagne*, which is subjoined to Frezier's *Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud*, p. 577. See also *Voyage aux Indes Occidentales, par* Franc. Coreal, tom. ii. p. 67. 43. and Mammachius, *Orig. et. Antiquit. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 337. There is

* See Labat, *Voyage en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. viii. p. 7.
† Id. ib. tom. viii. p. 12.

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though it had the greatest ignorance, stupidity, and indolence to conquer, made, in a little time, a considerable progress. The English *Independents* who retired to *America* on account of their dissension

is a particular account of the Jesuits of *Paraguay*, given by Don Ulloa, in his *Voyage d' Amerique*, tom. i. p. 540; but this account is partial in their favour. They are also zealously and artfully defended in an account of the mission of *Paraguay*, published by Muratori, in the year 1743. ☞ When Dr. Mosheim wrote this note, the important discovery that placed the ambitious, despotic, and rebellious proceedings of the Jesuits in *Paraguay*, in the plainest and most striking light, had not been yet made. The book of Muratori, which was published at *Venice* in the year 1743, and republished in a French translation at *Paris* in 1754*, deceived, for some time, the over-credulous, nay, induced even the enemies of the Jesuits to suspect that their conduct at *Paraguay* was not so criminal as it had been represented. So that, notwithstanding the accusations that had been brought against these missionaries by the writers mentioned by Dr. Mosheim; notwithstanding a memorial sent to the court of *Spain* in the year 1730, by Don Martin de Barua, at that time Spanish governor of *Paraguay*, in which the Jesuits are charged with the most ambitious projects and the most rebellious designs, represented as setting up an independent government, accused of carrying on a prodigious trade, and other things of that nature; and notwithstanding the circumstantial evidence of various known facts that supported these accusations in the strongest manner; notwithstanding all this, the public was more or less deceived. The illusion, however, did not last long. In the year 1750, the courts of *Madrid* and *Lisbon* entered into a treaty for fixing the limits of their respective dominions in *South-America*. The Jesuits, who had formed an independent republic in the heart of these dominions, composed of the Indians, whom they had gained by the insinuating softness and affected mildness, humility, and generosity of their proceedings, were much alarmed at this treaty. It was one of the fundamental laws of this new state (which was founded under the mask of a Christian mission), that neither bishop, governor, nor any officer, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, nay, nor even any individual, Spaniard or Portuguese, should be admitted into its territories, to the

* Muratori's account of the Mission of Paraguay was translated from the French edition into English, and published in 8vo in the year 1759.

dissension from the established religion of their country claimed the honour of carrying thither the first rays of divine truth, and of beginning a work that has been since continued with such pious zeal and such abundant fruit; and indeed this claim is founded in justice. Several families of this sect that had been settled in *Holland*, removed

the end that the proceedings and projects of the Jesuits might still remain an impenetrable secret. The members of their order were alone to be instructed in this profound and important mystery. The use of the Spanish language was prohibited throughout the extent of this new territory, in order to prevent more effectually all communication between the Indians and that nation. The Indians were trained to the use of arms, furnished with artillery, instructed in the art of war, taught to behold the Jesuits as their sovereigns and their gods, and to look upon all *white* people, except the Jesuits, as demoniacs, atheists, and, moreover, as their barbarous and mortal enemies. Such was the state of things when, in the year 1752, the united troops of *Spain* and *Portugal* marched towards the eastern borders of the river *Uragai*, to make the exchanges of certain villages that had been agreed upon in the treaty above mentioned. Upon this the Jesuits, not being sufficiently prepared for their defence, demanded a delay of the execution of the treaty under various pretexts. This delay was granted: but as the Spanish General *Gomez Frierre Andrada*, perceived that these *Holy Fathers* employed this delay in arming the Indians, and confirming them in their rebellion, he wrote to his court, and received new orders from thence to proceed to the execution of the treaty. A war ensued between the Spanish and the Portuguese on one side, and the Indians, animated by the Jesuits, on the other, in which the Spanish General lost his life, and of which the other circumstances are well known. This was the real and original cause of the disgrace of the Jesuits at the court of *Portugal*. Those who desire a more particular account of this matter will find it in a famous pamphlet, drawn from an authentic memorial, published by the court of *Lisbon*, and printed at the *Hague*, in the year 1758, under the following title: *La Republique des Jesuites au Paraguay Renversée ou Relation Authentique de la Guerre que ces Religieux ont ose soutenir contre les Monarques d'Espagne et de Portugal en Amerique, pour y defendre les domaines dont ils avoient usurpe le Soverainete au Paraguay sous pretexte de Religion.*

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moved from thence into *America* [*p*] in the year 1620, in order, as they alleged, to transmit their doctrine pure and undefiled to future ages; and there they laid the foundations of a new state [*q*]. The success that attended this first emigration engaged great numbers of the people called *Puritans*, who groaned under the oppression of the bishops, and the severity of a court, by which this oppression was authorised, to follow the fortunes of these religious adventurers [*r*]; and this produced a second emigration in the year 1629. But notwithstanding the success that in process of time crowned this enterprize, its first beginnings were unpromising, and the colonists, immediately after their arrival, laboured under such hardships and difficulties in the dreary and uncultivated wilds of this new region, that they could make but little progress in instructing the Indians: their whole zeal and industry being scarcely sufficient to preserve the infant settlement from the horrors of famine. But towards the year 1633 [*s*], things put on a better aspect: the colony began to flourish, and the new comers, among whom the Puritans Mayhew, Sheppard, and Elliot, made an eminent figure, had the leisure, courage, and tranquillity of mind, that were necessary to the execution of such an important and arduous design. All these devout exiles were remarkably zealous, laborious, and successful in the

[*p*] This colony settled in that part of *America* that was afterwards called *New Plymouth*.

[*q*] See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 128.—As also a German work, entitled, Ant. Wilh. Bohm, *Englische Reformations Historiæ*, b. vi. c. v. p. 807.

[*r*] See Mather's *History of New England*, p. 126.—Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 208.

☞ [*s*] Dr. Mosheim says in the year 1623, but this is probably an error of the press; since it is well known, that the emigration of *Sheppard* and *Elliot* happened between 1631 and 1684.

the conversion of the Indians; but none acquired such a shining reputation, in this pious career, as John Elliot, who learned their language, into which he translated the Bible, and other instructive and edifying books, gathered together the wandering savages, and formed them into regular congregations, instructed them in a manner suited to the dulness of their comprehension, and the measure of their respective capacities; and, by such eminent displays of his zeal, dexterity, and indefatigable industry, merited, after his death, the honourable title of the *Apostle of the Indians* [*t*].

The unexpected success that attended these pious attempts towards the propagation of Christian knowledge, drew the attention of the parliament and people of *England;* and the further advancement of this good cause appeared an object of sufficient importance to employ the deliberations, and to claim the protection of the great council of the nation. Thus was formed that illustrious society, which derives its title from the great purpose of its institution, even the *Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts,* and which, in proportion to the increase of its number, influence, revenues, and prerogatives, has still renewed and augmented its efforts for the instruction of the Pagans in all parts of the world, particularly those on the American continent. It is true, that after all its efforts, much is yet to be done; but it is also true, and must be acknowledged by all that have examined these matters

[*t*] Hornbeckius, *De Conversione Indorum et Gentil.* lib. iii. cap. xv. p. 260.—Crescentii Matheri *Epistola de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Occidentales ad Joh. Leusdenium Traject.* 1699, in 8vo. ☞ Increase Mather's *Letter to Leusden* is translated into English, and inserted into Cotton Mather's *Life of Elliot,* pp. 94. 3d London edit. and in his *History of New England,* book III. p. 194. N.

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with attention and impartiality, that much has been done, and that the pious undertakings of this respectable society have been followed with unexpected fruit. With respect to the province of *Pennsylvania*, which receives in its bosom, without distinction, persons of all sects and all opinions, we shall have occasion to speak of its religious state in another place. The American provinces that were taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, under the command of Count Maurice of *Nassau*, became immediately an object of the pious zeal of their new masters, who began, with great ardour and remarkable success, to spread the light of the Gospel among the wretched inhabitants of those benighted regions [*u*]. But this fair prospect was afterwards clouded in the year 1644, when the Portuguese recovered the territories they had lost. As to the Dutch colony that is settled in *Surinam*, we cannot say much, having never received the smallest information of any attempts made by them to instruct the neighbouring Indians in the knowledge of Christianity [*w*].

The enemies of Christianity in England.

XXI. Religion in general, and the Christian religion in particular, had many enemies to encounter in this century, though their number has been studiously diminished in the accounts of some, and greatly exaggerated in the representations of others. The English complain of the reign of Charles II. as the fatal period, when corruption of manners, and vice, in the most licentious and profligate forms, over-ran their nation,

[*u*] Jo. Henr. Hottingeri *Topographia Ecclesiastica*, p. 47. Janicon, *Etat Present des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 396. The same author gives an account of *Surinam*, and of the state of religion in that colony, chap. xiv. p. 407.

[*w*] There are three churches in that settlement for the use of the colonists; but no attempt has been made to spread the knowledge of the Gospel among the natives.

tion, engendered a spirit of scepticism and infidelity, and formed a set of unhappy men, who employed all the wantonness of inconsiderate wit, all the sallies of imagination, and even all the force of real talent and genius, to extinguish a sense of religion in the minds of mankind. That this complaint is far from being groundless, appears, on the one hand, from the number of those writers among the English, whose productions were levelled either against all religion, or designed to confine the belief of men to natural religion alone; and, on the other, from the still superior number of learned and ingenious treatises in which the divinity, dignity, and intrinsic excellence of the Gospel, were demonstrated and displayed in the most striking and conspicuous manner. But nothing is more adapted to confirm the accounts that have been given of the progress of infidelity and licentiousness at the period now under consideration, than the famous *Lectures*, founded by that illustrious ornament of religion and humanity, Mr. Robert Boyle, who, in the year 1691, consecrated a considerable part of his large fortune to the service of Christianity, by leaving, in his last will, a sum to be distributed, successively to a number of learned divines, who were to preach, in their turns, eight sermons every year, in defence of natural and revealed religion [*x*]. This pious and honourable task has

 been

[*x*] See Ricotier's *Preface* to his French translation of Dr. Clark's *Discourses on the Being and attributes of God.* For an account of the pious, learned, and illustrious Mr. Boyle, see Budgell's *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the illustrious Family of the* Boyles, published in 8vo, at *London*, in the year 1737.—See also the *Bibliotheque Britannique*, tom. xii. p. 144. ☞ But, above all, the late learned Dr. Birch's *Life of* Boyle, published in 8vo, in the year 1744; and that very valuable Collection of Lives, the *Biographia Britannica*, Article *Boyle (Robert)* note [*z*]. See also Article Hobbes, in the same collection. N.

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been committed always to men of the most eminent genius and abilities, and is still undertaken with zeal, and performed with remarkable dignity and success. The discourses that have been delivered in consequence of this admirable institution have always been published; and they form at this day a large and important collection, which is known throughout all *Europe*, and has done eminent service to the cause of religion and virtue [*y*].

Hobbes, Rochester, &c.

XXII. The leader of the impious band in *England*, which, so early as the reign of Charles II. attempted to obscure the truth, and to dissolve the solemn obligations of religion, was Thomas Hobbes of *Malmesbury*,—a man whose audacious pride was accompanied with an uncommon degree of artifice and address, whose sagacity was superior to his learning, and whose reputation was more owing to the subtilty and extent of his genius, than to any progress he had made either in sacred or profane erudition [*z*]. This man, notwithstanding the pernicious nature and tendency of his principles, had several adherents in *England;* and not only so, but has found, in foreign countries, more than one apologist, who, though they acknowledge that his sentiments were erroneous, yet deny that he went such an impious

[*y*] There is a complete list of these learned discourses in the *Bibliotheque Angloise*, tom. xv. part II. p. 416.—The late Reverend Mr. Gilbert Burnet published in four volumes, in 8vo, a judicious, comprehensive, and well-digested *Abridgment* of such of the Boyle's *Lectures* as had been preached before the year 1737. This abridgment which has been translated into the French and German languages, comprehends the discourses of *Bently, Kidder, Williams, Gastrell, Harris, Bradford, Blackhall, Stanhope, Clarke, Hancock, Whiston, Turner, Butler, Woodward, Derham, Ibbot, Long, J. Clark, Gurdon, Burnet, Berriman.*

[*z*] See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Hobbes*.—Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 641. last edition.

impious length as to introduce the disbelief, or to overturn the worship of a Supreme Being [*a*]. But if it should be granted, on the one hand, that Hobbes was not totally destitute of all sense of a Deity, nor of all impressions of religion; yet it must be allowed on the other, by all who peruse his writings, with a proper degree of attention, that his tenets lead, by natural consequences, to a contempt of religion and of divine worship; and that, in some of his productions, there are visible marks of an extreme aversion to Christianity. It has, indeed, been said of him, that, being advanced in years he returned to a better mind, and condemned publicly the opinions and tenets he had formerly entertained [*b*]; but how far this recantation was sincere, we shall not pretend to determine, since the reality of his repentance has been greatly questioned.

The

[*a*] Among the patrons and defenders of Hobbes, we may reckon Nic. Hier. Gundlingius, in his *Observationes Selectæ*, tom. i. n. ii. p. 30. and in his *Gundlingiana*, p. 304. and also Arnold, in his German work, entitled, *Kirchen and Ketzer Histoire*, p. II. b. xvii. c. xvi. sect. 25. p. 1082.—These writers are refuted by the learned Budæus, in his *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i. p. 187.

[*b*] This recantation of Hobbes depends upon the testimony of Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 646. This writer informs us, that Hobbes composed an apology for himself and his writings, in which he declared, that the opinions he had published in his *Leviathan* were by no means conformable to his real sentiments; that he had only proposed them as a matter of debate, to exercise his mind in the art of reasoning: that, after the publication of that book, he had never maintained them either in public or in private, but had left them entirely to the judgment and decision of the church: more especially, that the tenets, in this and his other writings, that seemed inconsistent with the doctrines concerning God and religion that are commonly received, were never delivered by him as *truths*, but proposed as *questions*, that were decided by divines and ecclesiastical judges endued with a proper authority.—Such is the account that Wood gives of the *apology* now under consideration; but he does not tell us the

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The same thing cannot be said of John Wilmot, earl of Rochester, who had insulted the majesty of God, and trampled upon the truths of religion and the obligations of morality with a profane sort of frenzy, that far surpassed the impiety of Hobbes, but whose repentance and conversion were also as palpable as had been his folly, and much more unquestionable than the dubious recantation of the philosopher of *Malmesbury*. Rochester was a man of uncommon sagacity and penetration, of a fine genius, and an elegant taste; but these natural talents were accompanied with the greatest levity and licentiousness, and the most impetuous propensity to unlawful pleasures. So that as long as health enabled him to answer the demands of passion, his life was an uninterrupted scene of debauchery.

year in which it was published, which is a proof that he himself had never seen it, nor does he inform us whether it appeared during the life of Hobbes, or after his death. As indeed it is placed in the catalogue of his writings, with a date posterior to the year 1682, it is natural to suppose that it was not published during his life, since he died in the year 1679. It is, therefore, no easy matter to determine what stress is to be laid upon this recantation of Hobbes, or what sentiments we are to form concerning his supposed repentance. That the *apology* under consideration exists, we do not pretend to deny; but it may possibly have been composed by some of his friends, to diminish the *odium* that it was natural to think his licentious principles would cast on his memory. But should it be granted, that it was drawn up and published by Hobbes himself, even this concession would contribute but little to save, or rather to recover, his reputation; since it is well known, that nothing is more common among those who, by spreading corrupt principles and pernicious opinions, have drawn upon themselves the just indignation of the public, than like Hobbes, to deceive the world by insidious and insincere declarations of the soundess of their belief, and the uprightness of their intention. It is thus that they secure themselves against the execution of the laws that are designed to fence religion, while they persevere in their licentious sentiments, and propagate them, wherever they can do it with security.

ery [*c*]. He was, however, so happy in the last years of a very short life, as to see the extreme folly and guilt of his past conduct, in which salutary view he was greatly assisted by the wise and pathetic reasonings and exhortations of Doctor Burnet, afterwards bishop of *Sarum*. This conviction of his guilt produced a deep contrition and repentance, an ardent recourse to the mercy of God, as it is manifested in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and a sincere abhorrence of the offences he had committed against the Best of Beings. In these pious sentiments he departed this life in the year 1680 [*d*].

In this list we may also place Anthony Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury, who died of a consumption at *Naples*, in the year 1703; not that this illustrious writer attacked openly and professedly the Christian religion, but that the most seducing strokes of wit and raillery, the most enchanting eloquence, and the charms of a genius, in which amenity, elegance, copiousness and elevation were happily blended, rendered him one of its most dangerous, though secret enemies; nay, so much the more dangerous, because his opposition was carried on under a mask. His works have been published, and have passed through several editions. They are remarkable for beauty of diction, and contain very noble and sublime senti-

[*c*] See an account of his life and writing's in Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, vol. ii. p. 654.—His poetical genius is justly celebrated by Voltaire, in his *Melanges de Literature et de Philosophie*, chap. xxxiv. vol. iv. of his works.

[*d*] Bishop Burnet has given a particular account of this last and very affecting scene of the life of this nobleman, in a pamphlet written expressly on that subject, and entitled, *Some Passages of the Life and Death, of John, Earl of Rochester, written, at his desire, on his death-bed, by* Gilbert Burnet, D. D. *containing more amply their Conversations on the great Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion.*

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ments; but ought to be read with the utmost caution, as extremely dangerous to unexperienced, youthful, and unwary minds [*e*]. The brutal

[*e*] His works were first collected and published under the title of *Characteristics*, in three volumes, in 8vo. in the year 1711, and since that time, have passed through several editions. Lee Le Clerc's account of them in his *Bibliotheque Choisie*, tom. xxiii. The learned and ingenious Leibnitz's Critical reflections on the philosophy of Lord Shaftesbury were published by Des Maizeaux, in the second volume of his *Recueil des diverces Pieces sur la Philosophie*, p. 245.—There are some writers who maintain, that this noble philosopher has been unjustly charged, by the greatest part of the clergy, with a contempt for revealed religion; and it were to be wished, that the arguments they employ to vindicate him from this charge were more satisfactory and solid than they really are. But, if I am not much mistaken, whoever peruses his writings, and more especially his famous letter concerning *Enthusiasm*, will be inclined to adopt the judgment that has been formed of him by the ingenious Dr. Berkley, late bishop of *Cloyne*, in his *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher*, vol. i. p. 200.—Nothing is more easy than to observe in the writings, of Lord Shaftesbury, a spirit of raillery, mingling itself with even those of his reflections upon religious subjects that seem to be delivered with the greatest seriousness and gravity. But, at the same time, this unseemly mixture of the solemn and the ludicrous, renders it difficult for those that are not well acquainted with his manner, to know whether the man is in jest or in earnest. It may also be added, that this author has perniciously endeavoured to destroy the influence and efficacy of some of the great motives that are proposed in the Holy Scriptures to render men virtuous, by representing these motives as mercenary, and even turning them into ridicule. He substitutes in their place, the intrinsic excellence and beauty of virtue, as the great source of moral obligation, and the true incentive to virtuous deeds. But however alluring this sublime scheme of morals may appear to certain minds of a refined, elegant, and ingenious turn, it is certainly little adapted to the taste, the comprehension, and the character of the multitude. Take away from the lower orders of mankind the prospect of reward and punishment that leads them to virtue and obedience, by the powerful suggestions of hope and fear, and the great supports of virtue, and the most effectual motives to the pursuits of it, will be then removed with respect to them.

☞ Since Dr. Mosheim wrote this note, the very learned and judicious Dr. Leland published his *View of the Principal Deistical*

brutal rusticity and uncouth turn of John Toland, a native of *Ireland*, who, towards the conclusion of this century, was rendered famous by several injurious libels against Christianity, must naturally appear doubly disgusting, when compared with the amiable elegance and specious refinement of the writer now mentioned. However, as those writers who flatter the passions by endeavouring to remove all the restraints that religion imposes upon their excessive indulgence, will never want patrons among the licentious part of mankind; so this man, who was not destitute of learning, imposed upon the ignorant and unwary; and, notwithstanding the excess of his arrogance

Deistical Writers that have appeared in England during the last and present century, &c. in which there is a full account of the Free-thinkers and Deists mentioned by our Historian, and a review of the writings of the Earl of Shaftesbury. This review merits a particular attention, as it contains an impartial account, an accurate examination, and a satisfactory refutation, of the erroneous principles of that great man. Lord Shaftesbury, like all other eminent innovators, has been misrepresented both by his friends and his enemies. Dr. Leland has steered a middle course, between the blind enthusiasm of the former, and the partial malignity of the latter. He points out, with singular penetration and judgment, the errors, inconsistencies, and contradictions, of that illustrious author; does justice to what is good in his ingenious writings; separates carefully the wheat from the chaff; and neither approves or condemns in the lump, as too many have done. In a more particular manner he has shewn with his usual perspicuity and good sense, that the being influenced by the hope of the reward promised in the Gospel has nothing in it *disingenuous* and *slavish*, and is so far from being inconsistent with loving virtue *for its own sake*, that it tends, on the contrary, to heighten our esteem of its *amiableness* and *worth*.—The triumphant manner in which the learned Dr. Warburton has refuted Shaftesbury's representation of raillery and ridicule as a test of truth, is too well known to be mentioned here. See also Dr. Brown's *Three Essays on the Characteristics*, in which that sensible author treats of *Ridicule*, considered as a *Test of Truth*; of the obligations of men to virtue, and of the necessity of religious principle, and of revealed religion and Christianity.

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arrogance and vanity, and the shocking rudeness and ferocity of his manners, acquired a certain measure of fame [*f*]. It is not necessary to mention

☞ [*f*] Dr. Mosheim quotes here, in a short note, an account he had given of the *Life and Writings of Toland*, prefixed to his confutation of the Nazarenus of that contemptible author. He also quotes a life of Toland, prefixed to his posthumous works, printed in 8vo, at *London*, in 1726, by Des Maizeaux.—Dr. Mosheim says, that this man *was not destitute of learning*. Should that be granted, it must, nevertheless, be acknowledged that this learning lay quite undigested in his head, and that the use he made of it in his works was equally injudicious and impudent. His conference with M. Beausobre concerning the *authenticity* of the Holy Scriptures, which was held at *Berlin*, in the year 1701, in presence of the queen of *Prussia*, and in which he made such a despicable figure, is a proof of the former; and his writings to all but half-scholars and half-thinkers, will be a proof (as long as they endure) of the latter.—It is remarkable that, according to that maxim of Juvenal, *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*, Toland arrived only gradually, and by a progressive motion, at the summit of infidelity. His first step was Socinianism, which appeared in his book, entitled, *Christianity not mysterious*. This book procured him hard treatment from the Irish parliament; and was answered by Mr. Brown, afterwards bishop of *Cork*, who unhappily did not think good arguments sufficient to maintain a good cause, unless they were seconded by the secular arm, whose ill-placed succours he solicited with ardour. The second step that Toland made in the devious fields of religion, was in the publication of his *Aymntor*, which, in appearance, was designed to vindicate what he advanced in his Life of Milton, to prove that King Charles I. was not the real author of the *Eikon Basilike*, but, in reality, was intended to invalidate the *Canon of the New Testament*, and to render it uncertain and precarious. This piece, in as far as it attacked the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, was answered in a triumphant manner by Dr. Clarke, in his *Reflections on that part of the Book called* Aymntor, *which relates to the writings of the Primitive Fathers*, and the *Canon of the New Testament;* by Mr. Richardson, in his learned and judicious *Vindication of the Canon of the New Testament;* and by Mr. Jones, in his *new and full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament*. These learned writers have exposed, in the most striking manner, the disingenuity, the blunders, the false quotations, the insidious fictions, and ridiculous mistakes of Toland, who on various accounts, may pass for one of the most harmless writers against

mention other authors of this class, who appeared in *England* during this century, but are long since consigned to oblivion; the reader may, however, add to those that have been already named, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, a philosopher of some note, who, if he did not absolutely deny the divine origin of the Gospel [*g*], maintained,

against the Christian religion. For an account of the *Adeisidæmon*, the *Nazarenus*, the *Letters to Serena*, the *Pantheisticon*, and the other irreligious works of this author, with the excellent answers that have been made to them, see his Life in the *General Dictionary*, or rather in Chafeipied's Supplement to Bayle's *Dictionary*, entitled, *Nouveau Dictionaire Historique et Critique*, as this author has not only translated the articles added to Bayle's *Dictionary* by the English editors of that work, but has augmented and improved them by several interesting anecdotes drawn from the Literary History of the Continent.

☞ [*g*] Lord Herbert did not pretend to deny the divinity of the Gospel; he even declared that he had no intention to attack Christianity, which he calls, in express terms, the *Best religion*, and which, according to his own confession, tends to establish the five great articles of that universal, sufficient, and absolutely perfect religion, which he pretends to deduce from reason and nature. But notwithstanding these fair professions, his lordship loses no occasion of throwing out insinuations against all revealed religion, as absolutely uncertain, and of little or no use. But this same deist who was the first, and indeed, the least contemptible of that tribe in *England*, has left upon record one of the strongest instances of fanaticism and absurdity that perhaps ever has been heard of, and of which he himself was guilty. This instance is preserved in a manuscript life of Lord Herbert, drawn up from memorials penned by himself, which is now in the possession of a gentleman of distinction, and is as follows: that lord having finished his book *De Veritate*, apprehended that he should meet with much opposition, and was, consequently, dubious for some time whether it would not be prudent to suppress it. "Being thus doubtful, *says his Lordship*, in my chamber *(at "Paris, where he was ambassador, in the year* 1624,) one fair "day in the summer, my casement being open towards the "south, the sun shining clear, and no wind stirring, I took "my book *De Veritate* in my hands, and kneeling on my "knees, devoutly said these words: *O thou eternal God, au-"thor of this light that now shines upon me, and giver of all in-"ward*

maintained, at least, that it was not essentially necessary to the salvation of mankind [*h*]; and Charles Blount, who composed a book, entitled,

" *ward illuminations, I do beseech thee, of thine infinite goodness,* " *to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make: I* " *am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book; if* " *it be for thy glory I beseech thee give me some* SIGN FROM HEA- " VEN; *if not, I shall suppress it.*" What does the reader now think of this corner stone of Deism, who demands a *supernatural revelation* from heaven in favour of a book that was designed to prove *all* revelation *uncertain* and *useless?* But the absurdity does not end here, for our Deist not only *sought* for this revelation, but also *obtained* it, if we are to believe him. " I had no sooner, *says he,* spoken these words, but a *loud,* " though yet *gentle* noise came forth from the heavens (for it " was like nothing on earth,) which did so cheer and comfort " me, that I took my petition as granted." Rare credulity this in an unbeliever! but these gentlemen can believe even against reason when it answers their purpose. His Lordship continues, " This, however strange it may seem, I protest be- " fore the Eternal God, is true; neither am I superstitiously " deceived herein," &c. See Leland's *View of the Deistical* " *Writers,* &c. vol. i. p. 470, &c.

[*h*] This is sufficiently known to those who have perused Lord Herbert's book *De Causis Errorum,* as also his celebrated work, *De Religionem Gentilium.* This author is generally considered as the chief and founder of the sect or society that are called *Naturalists,* from their attachment to natural religion alone. See Arnoldi *Historia Ecclesiastica et Hæret.* part II. p. 1083. —The peculiar tenets of this famous Deist have been refuted by Musæus and Kortholt, two German divines of eminent learning and abilities.—☞ Gassendi also composed an answer to Lord Herbert's book *De Veritate.* In *England* it was refuted by Mr. Richard Baxter, in a treatise entitled, *More reasons for the Christian Religion, and no reasons against it.* Mr. Locke, in his *Essay on Human Understanding,* shews with great perspicuity and force of evidence, that the *Five articles of Natural Religion* proposed by this noble author are not, as he represents them, *Common Notices,* clearly *inscribed* by the hand of God in the minds of *all men,* and that a Divine Revelation is necessary to indicate, develope, and enforce them. Dr. Whitby has also treated the same matter amply in his learned work, entitled, *The Necessity and Usefulness of the Christian Revelation, by reason of the Corruptions of the principles of Natural Religion among the Jews and Heathens,* 8vo, 1705.

titled, *The Oracles of Reason*, and in the year 1693, died by his own hand [*i*]. CENT. XVII. SECT. I.

XXIII. Infidelity, and even Atheism shewed themselves also on the continent during this century. In *France*, Julius Cæsar Vanini, the author of two books, the one entitled, *The Amphitheatre of Providence* [*k*], and the other, *Dialogues concerning Nature* [*l*], was publicly burnt at *Tholouse*, in the year 1629, as an impious and obstinate Atheist. It is nevertheless to be observed, that several learned and respectable writers consider this unhappy man rather as a victim to bigotry and envy, than as a martyr to impiety and Atheism; Vanini, Rugger, Leszynski, Knutzen.

[*i*] See Chauffepied, *Nouveau Dictionaire Historique et Crit.* though this author has omitted the mention of this gentleman's unhappy fate, out of a regard, no doubt, to his illustrious family. ☞ Mr. Chauffepied has done no more than translated the article *Charles Blount*, from that of the English continuators of Bayle.

☞ [*k*] This book was published at *Lyons* in the year 1615, was approved by the clergy and magistrates of that city, and contains many things absolutely irreconcileable with atheistical principles: its title is as follows: *Amphitheatrum Eternæ Providentiæ, Divino-Magicum, Christiano-Physicum, Astrologico-Catholicum, adversus Veteres Philosophos, Atheos, Epicureos, Peripateticos, Stoicos*, &c. This book has been esteemed innocent, by several writers, impious by others, but, in our judgment, it would have escaped reproach, had Vanini published none of his other productions, since the impieties it may contain, according to the intention of its author, are carefully concealed. This is by no means the case of the book mentioned in the following note.

☞ [*l*] This book, concerning the *Secrets of Queen Nature, the Goddess of Mortals*, was published with this suspicious title at *Paris*, in the year 1616, and contains glaring marks of impiety and atheism; and yet it was published with the king's permission, and the approbation of the *Faculty of Theology*, at *Paris*. This scandalous negligence or ignorance is unaccountable in such a reverend body. The Jesuit Garasse pretends that the faculty was deceived by Vanini, who substituted another treatise in the place of that which had been approved. See a wretched book of Garasse, entitled, *Doctrine Curieuse*, p. 998, as also Durand, *Vie de Vanini*, p. 116.

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Atheism; and maintain, that neither his life nor his writings were so absurd or blasphemous as to entitle him to the character of a despiser of God and religion [*m*]. But if Vanini had his apologists, this was by no means the case of Cosmo Ruggeri, a native of *Florence*, whose Atheism was as impudent as it was impious, and who died in the most desperate sentiments of irreligion at *Paris*, in the year 1615, declaring, that he looked upon all the accounts that had been given of the existence of a Supreme Being, and of evil spirits, as idle dreams [*n*]. Cassimer Leszynski, a Polish knight, was capitally punished, suffering death at *Warsaw*, in the year 1689, for denying the Being and Providence of God; but whether or no this accusation was well founded, can only be known by reading his trial, and examining the nature and circumstances of the evidence that was produced against him [*o*]. In *Germany*, a senseless and fanatic sort of a man, called Matthew Knutzen, a native of *Holstein*, attempted to found a new sect, whose members, laying aside all consideration of *God* and *Religion*, were to follow the dictates of *reason* and *conscience* alone, and from thence were to assume the title of *Conscientiarians*. But this wrong headed sectary was easily obliged

[*m*] See Budæus' *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, p. 120. The author of the *Apologia pro* Vanino, which appeared in *Holland*, in the year 1712, is Peter Frederick Arp, a learned lawyer, who, in his *Feriæ æstivales seu Scriptorum suorum Historia*, p. 28. has promised a new edition of this Apology, with considerable additions. We may also place among the defenders of Vanini, the learned Elias Frederic Heister, in his *Apologia pro Medicis*, sect. xviii. p. 93.

[*n*] See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Ruggeri*.

[*o*] See the German work of Arnold, entitled *Kirchen en Ketzer Historie*, p. 1077.—There was formerly in the famous library of Uffenbach, a complete collection of all the papers relating to the trial of Leszynski, and a full account of the proceedings against him.

obliged to abandon his extravagant undertakings; and thus his idle attempt came to nothing [*p*].

Benedict Spinoza.

XXIV. The most accurate and eminent of the Atheists of this century, whose system represented the Supreme Author of all things, as a Being bound by the eternal and immutable laws of necessity or fate, was Benedict Spinoza, a Portuguese Jew. This man who died at the *Hague*, in 1677, observed, in his conduct, the rules of wisdom and probity, much better than many who profess themselves Christians, nor did he ever endeavour to pervert the sentiments, or to corrupt the morals of those with whom he lived, or to inspire, in his discourse, a contempt of religion or virtue [*q*]. It is true, indeed, that in his writings, more especially in those that were published after his death, he maintains openly, that *God* and the *Universe* are one and the same Being, and that all things happen by the eternal and immutable law of *nature*, i. e. of an all-comprehending and infinite Being, that exists and acts by an *invincible necessity*. This doctrine leads directly to consequences equally impious and absurd; for if the principle now mentioned be true, each individual is his own God, or, at least, a *part* of the universal

[*p*] See Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 304. and *Isagogue ad Historiam Chersoness. Cimbr.* part II. cap. vi. sect. viii. p. 164.—La Croze, *Entretiens sur divers sujets d'Histoire*, p. 400.

[*q*] The Life of Spinoza has been accurately written by Colerus, whose performance was published at the *Hague*, in 8vo, in the year 1706. But a more ample and circumstantial account of this singular man has been given by Lenglet du Fresnoy, and is prefixed to Boulainvillier's Exposition of the Doctrine of Spinoza, which was published at *Amsterdam*, under the title of *Brussels*, in 12mo, in the year 1731. See also Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Spinoza*. ☞ Lenglet du Fresnoy republished the work of Colerus, and added to it several anecdotes and circumstances borrowed from a *Life of Spinoza*, written by an infamous profligate, whose name was Lucas, and who practised physic at the *Hague*. See below, the notes [*x*] and [*y*]

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universal Deity, and is, therefore, impeccable and perfect [*r*]. Be that as it may, it is evident that Spinoza was seduced into this monstrous system by the Cartesian philosophy, of which he was a passionate admirer, and which was the perpetual subject of his meditation and study. Having adopted

[*r*] The learned Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, lib. v. part III. p. 119. and Jenichen, in his *Historia Spinozismi Lehnhofiani*, p. 58—72. has given us an ample list of the writers who have refuted the system of Spinoza. The real opinion which this subtle sophist entertained concerning the Deity, is to be learned in his *Ethicks*, that were published after his death, and not in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, which was printed during his life. For in this latter *Treatise* he reasons like one who was persuaded that there exists an *eternal Deity*, distinct from *matter* and the *universe*, who has sent upon earth a religion designed to form men to the practice of benevolence and justice, and has confirmed that religion by events of a *wonderful* and *astonishing*, though not of a *supernatural* kind. But in his *Ethicks* he throws off the mask, explains clearly his sentiments, and endeavours to demonstrate, that the *Deity* is nothing more than the *universe, producing a series of necessary movements or acts, in consequence of its own intrinsic, immutable, and irresistible energy.* This diversity of sentiments that appears in the different productions of Spinoza, is a sufficient refutation of those who, forming the estimate of his system from his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* alone, pronounce it less pernicious, and its author less impious than they are generally supposed to be. But, on the other hand, how shall this diversity be accounted for? Are we to suppose that Spinoza proceeded to atheism by gradual steps, or is it rather more probable, that, during his life, he prudently concealed his real sentiments? Which of these two is the case, it is not easy to determine; it appears, however, from testimonies every way worthy of credit, that he never, during his whole life, either made, or attempted to make, converts to irreligion: never said any thing in public that tended to encourage disrespectful sentiments of the Supreme Being, or of the worship that is due to him; nay, it is well known on the contrary, that, when subjects of a religious nature were incidentally treated in the course of conversation where he was present, he always expressed himself with the utmost decency on the occasion, and often with an air of piety and seriousness that was more adapted to edify than to give offence. See Des Maizeaux, *Vie de M. de S. Evremond*, p. 117. tom. i. of his works. This appears also evident from the Letters that are published in his posthumous works.

adopted that general principle, about which philosophers of all sects are agreed; *that all realities are possessed by the Deity in the most eminent degree;* and having added to this principle, as equally evident, the opinion of Descartes, *that there are only two realities in nature, thought and extension, the one essential to spirit, and the other to matter* [*s*]; the natural consequence of this was, that he should attribute to the Deity both these realities, even *thought* and *extension*, in an eminent degree; or, in other words should represent them as *infinite* and *immense* in God. Hence the transition seemed easy enough to that enormous system, which confounds *God* with the *Universe*, represents them as one and the same Being, and supposes only one *substance* from whence all things proceed, and into which they all return. It is natural to observe here, that even the friends of Spinoza, are obliged to acknowledge, that this system is neither attended with that luminous perspicuity, nor that force of evidence, that are proper to make proselytes. It is too dark, too intricate, to allure men from the belief of those truths relating to the Deity, which the works of nature, and the plainest dictates of reason, are perpetually enforcing upon the human mind. Accordingly, the followers of Spinoza tell us, without hesitation, that it is rather by the suggestions of a certain *sense*, than by the investigations of reason, that his doctrine is to be comprehended; and that it is of such a nature, as to be easily misunderstood even by persons of the greatest sagacity and

☞ [*s*] The hypothesis of Des Cartes is not, perhaps, represented with sufficient accuracy and precision, by saying that he looked upon *thought as essential to spirit*, and *extension as essential to matter*; since it is well known, that this philosopher considered *thought* as the very *essence* or *substance* of the *soul*, and *extension* as the very *essence* and *substance* of matter.

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penetration [*t*]. The disciples of Spinoza assume the denomination of Pantheists, choosing rather to derive their distinctive title from the nature of their doctrine, than from the name of their master.

[*t*] There is certainly no man so little acquainted with the character of Bayle, as to think him void of discernment and sagacity; and yet this most subtle metaphysician has been accused by the followers of Spinoza, of misunderstanding and misrepresenting the doctrine of that Pantheist, and consequently of answering it with very little solidity. See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Spinoza*. This charge is brought against Bayle, with peculiar severity, by L. Meier, in his Preface to the Posthumous Works of Spinoza, in which, after complaining of the misrepresentations that have been given of the opinions of that writer, he pretends to maintain, that his system was, in every point, conformable to the doctrines of Christianity. Boulainvilliers also, another of Spinoza's commentators and advocates, declares, in his preface to a book, whose perfidious title is mentioned below in note [*y*], that all the antagonists of that famous Jew either ignorantly misunderstood, or maliciously perverted his true doctrine; his words are: *Les Refutations de Spinoza m'ont induit a juger, ou que leurs Auteurs n'avoient pas voulu mettre la doctrine, qu'ils combattent, dans une evidence suffisante, ou qu'ils l'avoient mal entendue*, p. 153.—But now, if this be true, if the doctrine of Spinoza be not only far beyond the comprehension of the vulgar, but also difficult to be understood, and liable to be mistaken and misrepresented by men of the most acute parts and the most eminent abilities, what is the most obvious conclusions deducible from this fact? It is plainly this, that the greatest part of the Spinosists, whose sect is supposed by some to be very numerous in *Europe*, have adopted the doctrine of that famous Atheist, not so much from a conviction of its truth founded on an examination of its intricate contents, as from the pleasure they take in a system that promises impunity to all transgressions that do not come within the cognizance of the civil law, and thus let loose the reins to every irregular appetite and passion. For it would be senseless, in the highest degree, to imagine, that the pretended multitude of the Spinosists, many of whom never once dreamed of exercising their minds in the pursuit of truth, or accustoming them to philosophical discussion, should all accurately comprehend a system, which according to their own accounts, has escaped the penetration and sagacity of the greatest geniuses.

master [*u*]. The most noted members of this strange sect were a physician, whose name was Lewis Meier [*w*], a certain person called Lucas,

[*u*] Toland, unable to purchase himself a dinner, composed and published, in order to supply the sharp demands of hunger, an infamous and impious book under the following title: *Pantheisticon; sive, Formulæ celebrande Societatis Socraticæ, in Tres Particulas divisæ; quæ Pantheistarum, sive sodalium continent,* 1. *Mores et Axiomata;* 11. *Numen et Philosophium;* 111. *Libertatem et non fallentem legem neque fallendam,* &c. The design of this book, which was published in 8vo, at *London* in the year 1720, appears by the title. It was intended to draw a picture of the licentious morals and principles of his brethren the *Pantheists* under the fictitious description of a *Socratical* Society, which they are represented as holding in all the places where they are dispersed. In the Socratical, or rather Bacchanalian Society, described in this pernicious work, the president and members are said to converse freely on several subjects. There is also a *Form* or *Liturgy* read by the president, who officiates as priest, and is answered by the assembly in suitable *responses.* He recommends earnestly to the members of the Society, the care of truth, liberty, and health: exhorts them to guard against superstition, that is religion; and reads aloud to them, by way of *Lesson,* certain select passages out of Cicero and Seneca which seem to favour irreligion. His colleagues promise solemnly to conform themselves to his injunctions and exhortations. Sometimes the whole fraternity is so animated with enthusiasm and joy, that they all raise their voices together, and sing certain verses out of the ancient Latin poets, that are suitable to the laws and principles of their sect. See Des Maizeaux, *Life of John Toland,* p. 77.—*Bibliotheque Angloise,* tom. viii. p. II. p. 285. If the *Pantheistical* community be really such as it is here represented, it is not so much the duty of wise and good men to dispute with or refute its members, as it is the business of the civil magistrate to prevent such licentious and turbulent spirits from troubling the order of society, and seducing honest citizens from their religious principles, and the duties of their respective stations.

[*w*] This Meier was the person who translated into Latin the pieces that Spinoza had composed in the Dutch language; who assisted him in his last moments, after having attempted, in vain to remove his disorder; and who published his *Posthumous Works* with a *Preface,* in which, with great impudence and little success, he endeavours to prove, that the doctrine of Spinoza differs in nothing from that of the Gospel. Meier

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cas [*x*], Count Boulainvilliers [*y*], and some others, equally contemptible on account of their sentiments and morals.

XXV. The

is also the author of a well-known treatise, thus entitled, *Philosophia Scripturæ Interpres, Eleutheropolæ*, 1666, in 4to, in which the merit and authority of the sacred writings are examined by the dictates of philosophy, that is to say, of the philosophy of Mr. Meir.

[*x*] Lucas was a physician at the *Hague*, and was as famous for what he called his Quintessences, as he was infamous on account of the profligacy of his morals. He left behind him a *Life of Spinoza*, from whence Lenglet du Fresnoy took all the additions that he made to the Life of that Atheist written by Colerus. He also composed a work which is still handed about, and bought at an extravagant price, by those in whose judgment rarity and impiety are equivalent to merit. This work is entitled, *L'Esprit de Spinoza*, and surpasses infinitely, in atheistical profaneness, even those productions of Spinoza that are looked upon as the most pernicious; so far has this miserable writer lost sight of every dictate of prudence, and triumphed even over the restraints of shame.

[*y*] This fertile and copious, but paradoxical and inconsiderate writer, is abundantly known by his various productions relating to the History and Political state of the French Nation, by a certain prolix Fable, entitled, *The Life of Mahomet*, and by the adverse turns of fortune that pursued him. His character was so made up of inconsistencies and contradictions, that he is almost equally chargeable with superstition and atheism: for though he acknowledged no other Deity than the universe or nature, yet he looked upon Mahomet as authorised by a divine commission to instruct mankind; and he was of opinion, that the fate of nations and the destiny of individuals, could be foreknown, by an attentive observation of the stars. Thus the man was, at the same time, an atheist and an astrologer. Now this medley of a man was greatly concerned, in consequence, forsooth, of his ardent zeal for the *public good*, to see the *admirable* doctrine of Spinoza so generally misunderstood, and therefore he formed the *laudable* design of expounding, illustrating, and accommodating it, as is done with respect to the doctrines of the Gospel in books of piety to ordinary capacities. This design, indeed, he executed, but not so fortunately for his master as he might fondly imagine; since it appeared most evidently, from his own account of the system of Spinoza, that Bayle, and the other writers who had represented his doctrine as repugnant to the plainest dictates of reason, and utterly destructive of all religion, had judged

The sciences cultivated and improved.

XXV. The progressive and flourishing state of the arts and sciences in the seventeenth century is abundantly known; and we see the effects, and enjoy the fruits, of the efforts then made for the advancement of learning. No branch of literature seemed to be neglected. Logic, philosophy, history, poetry, and rhetoric; in a word, all the sciences that belong to the respective provinces of reason, experience, observation, genius, memory, and imagination, were cultivated and improved

 with

judged rightly, and were neither misled by ignorance nor temerity. In short, the book of Boulainvilliers set the atheism and impiety of Spinoza in a much more clear and striking light than ever they had appeared before. This infamous book, which was worthy of eternal oblivion, was published by Lenglot du Fresnoy, who, that it might be bought with avidity, and read without reluctance, prefixed to it the attracting, but perfidious title, of *A Refutation of the errors of Spinoza;* adding indeed, to it some separate pieces, to which this title may, in some measure, be thought applicable; the whole title runs thus: *Refutation des Erreurs de Benoit de Spinoza, par M. de Fenelon, Acheveque de Cambray, par le Pere Lami Benedictin, et par le M. Comte de Boulainvilliers, avec la Vie de Spinoza, ecrite par Jean Colerus, ministre de l'Eglise Lutherienne de lay Haye, augmentée de beaucoup de particularites tirées d'une Vie Manuscripte de ce Philosophe, fait par un de ses Amis* (this friend was Lucas, the atheistical physician mentioned in the preceding note) *a Bruxelles, chez Francois Foppens,* 1731, in 12mo. Here we see the poison and the antidote joined together, but the latter perfidiously distributed in a manner and measure every way insufficient to remove the noxious effects of the former: in a word, the wolf is shut up with the sheep. The account and defence of the philosophy of Spinoza, given by Boulainvilliers under the insidious title of a *Refutation,* takes up the greatest part of this book, and is placed first and not the last in order, as the title would insinuate. Besides, the whole contents of this motley collection are not enumerated in the title: for at the end of it we find a Latin Treatise, entitled, *Certamen Philosophicum propugnatæ Veritatis divinæ et naturalis, adversus* Jo. Bredenburgii *principia, in fine annexa.* This *philosophical controversy* contains a Defence of the Doctrine of Spinoza, by Bredenburg; and a Refutation of that Defence by Isaac Orobio, a learned Jewish physician at *Amsterdam,* and was first published in 8vo, in the year 1703.

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with remarkable success throughout the Christian world. While the learned men of this happy period discovered such zeal for the improvement of science; their zeal was both inflamed and directed by one of the greatest and rarest geniuses that ever arose for the instruction of mankind. This was Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, who, towards the commencement of this century, opened the paths that lead to true philosophy in his admirable works [z]. It must be acknowledged indeed, that the rules he prescribes, to direct the researches of the studious, are not all practicable, amidst the numerous prejudices and impediments to which the most zealous enquirers are exposed in the pursuit of truth; and it appears plainly that this great man, to whose elevated and comprehensive genius all things seemed easy, was at certain times so far carried away by the vastness of his conceptions, as to require from the application and abilities of men more than they were capable of performing, and to desire the *end*, without always examining whether the *means* of attaining it were possible. At the same time it must be confessed that a great part of the improvements in learning, and of the progress in science that were made in *Europe* during this century, was owing to the counsels and directions of this extraordinary man. This is more especially true of the improvements that were made in natural philosophy, to which noble science Bacon

[z] More especially in his Treatise *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*, and in his *Novum Organum*. See the life of that great man that is prefixed to the last edition of his Works published by *Millar*, in four volumes *in folio*.—*Bibliotheque Britannique*, tom. xv. p. 128.—In Mr. Mallet's Life of Bacon, there is a particular and interesting account of his noble attempt to reform the miserable philosophy that prevailed before his time. See also Voltaire, *Melanges de Litterature*, &c. in the fourth volume of his Works, chap. xiv. p. 225.

Bacon did such important service, as is alone sufficient to render his name immortal. He opened the eyes of those who had been led blindfold by the dubious authority of traditionary systems, and the uncertain directory of hypothesis and conjecture. He led them to Nature, that they might consult that oracle directly and near at hand, and receive her answers; and, by the introduction of experimental inquiry, he placed philosophy upon a new and solid basis. It was thus undoubtedly that he removed the prejudices of former times, which led men to consider all human knowledge as circumscribed within the bounds of Greek and Latin erudition, and an acquaintance with the more elegant and liberal arts; and thus, in the vast regions of nature, he opened scenes of instruction and science, which, although hitherto unknown or disregarded, were infinitely more noble and sublime, and much more productive of solid nourishment to the minds of the wise, than that kind of learning that was in vogue before his time.

More especially the Mathematics.

XXVI. It is remarkable, in general, that the sciences of *natural philosophy*, *mathematics*, and *astronomy*, were carried in this century, in all the nations of *Europe*, to such a high degree of perfection, that they seemed to rise, all of a sudden, from the puny weakness of infancy to a state of full maturity. There is certainly no sort of comparison between the philosophers, mathematicians, and astronomers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The former look like pigmies, when compared with the gigantic stature of the latter. At the head of these latter appears Galilei, the ornament of natural science in *Italy*, who was encouraged, in his astronomical researches and discoveries, by the munificence and protection of the Grand Dukes of *Tuscany* [*a*]. After this arose

[*a*] See Heuman's *Acta. Philosoph.* part XIV. p. 261. part XV. p. 467. part XVII. p. 803.

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in *France* Descartes and Gassendi, who left behind them a great number of eminent disciples; in *Denmark* Tycho Brahe; in *England* Boyle and Newton; in *Germany* Kepler, Hevelius, and Leibnitz; and in *Switzerland* the two Bernoulli. These philosophers of the first magnitude, if I may use that expression, excited such a spirit of emulation in *Europe*, and were followed by such a multitude of admirers and rivals, that, if we except those countries that had not yet emerged from a state of ignorance and barbarism, there was scarcely any nation that could not boast of possessing a profound mathematician, a famous astronomer, or an eminent philosopher. Nor were the dukes of *Tuscany*, however distinguished by their hereditary zeal for the sciences, and their liberality to the learned, the only patrons of philosophy at this time; since it is well known that the monarchs of *Great Britain* and *France*, Charles II. and Lewis XIV. honoured the sciences, and those that cultivated them, with their protection and encouragement. It is to the munificence of these two princes that the *Royal Society of London*, and the *Academy of Sciences* at *Paris*, owe their origin and establishment, their privileges, honours, and endowments: and that we, of consequence, are indebted for the interesting discoveries that have been made by these two learned bodies, the end of whose institution is the study and investigation of nature, and the culture of all those arts and sciences that lead to truth, and are useful to mankind [*b*]. These establishments,

[*b*] The History of the *Royal Society of London* was published by Dr. Sprat in 4to. in the year 1722*. See the *Biblioth. Angloise*, tom. xi. p. 1. The History of the *Academy of Pillars* has been composed by Fontenelle. The reader will find a comparison between these two learned bodies in the fourth volume of the Works of Voltaire, entitled *Melanges de Litterature et de Philosophie*, cap. xxvi. p. 317.

☞ * A much more interesting and ample history of this respectable Society has lately been composed and published by Dr. Birch, its learned Secretary.

ments, and the enquiries they were so naturally adapted to encourage and promote, proved not only beneficial, in the highest degree, to the civil interests of mankind, but were also productive of inestimable advantages to the cause of the true religion. By these enquiries, the empire of superstition which is always the bane of genuine piety, and often a source of rebellion and calamity in sovereign states was greatly shaken; by them the fictitious prodigies that had so long held miserable mortals in a painful state of servitude and terror, were deprived of their influence; by them natural religion was built upon solid foundations, and illustrated with admirable perspicuity and evidence; as by them the infinite perfections of the Supreme Being were demonstrated with the utmost clearness and force from the frame of the universe in general, and also from the structure of its various parts.

History.

XXVII. The improvements made in History, and more especially the new degrees of light that were thrown upon the ancient History of the church, were of eminent service to the cause of genuine Christianity. For thus the original sources and reasons of many absurd opinions and institutions, which antiquity and custom had rendered sacred, were discovered and exposed in their proper colours; and innumerable errors that had possessed and perplexed the anxious spirits of the credulous and superstitious multitude, were happily deprived of their authority and influence. Thus, of consequence, the cheerful light of Truth, and the calm repose and tranquillity that attend it, arose upon the minds of many, and human life was delivered from the crimes that have been sanctified by superstition, and from the tumults and agitations in which it has so often involved unhappy mortals. The advantages that flowed from the improvement of historical knowledge are both

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both innumerable and inestimable. By this many pious and excellent persons, whom ignorance or malice had branded with the ignominious title of *Heretics*, were delivered from reproach, recovered their good fame, and thus were secured against the malignity of superstition. By this it appeared, that many of those religious controversies, which had divided nations, friends, and families, and involved so often sovereign states in bloodshed, rebellion, and crimes of the most horrid kind, were owing to the most trifling and contemptible causes, to the ambiguity and obscurity of certain theological phrases and terms, to superstition, ignorance, and envy, to ghostly pride and ambition. By this it was demonstrated with the fullest evidence, that many of those religious rites and ceremonies, which had been long considered as of divine institution, were derived from the most inglorious sources, being either borrowed from the manners and customs of barbarous nations, or invented with a design to deceive the ignorant and credulous, or dictated by the idle visions of senseless enthusiasm. By this the ambitious intrigues of the bishops and other ministers of religion, who, by perfidious arts, had encroached upon the prerogatives of the throne, usurped a considerable part of its authority and revenues, and held princes in subjection to their yoke by terrors of the church, were brought to light. And to mention no more instances, it was by the lamp of History that those councils, whose decrees had so long been regarded as infallible and sacred, and revered as the dictates of celestial wisdom, were exhibited to the attentive observer as assemblies, where an odious mixture of ignorance and knavery very frequently presided. Our happy experience, in these latter times, furnishes daily instances of the salutary effects of these important discoveries on the state of the Christian

Christian church, and on the condition of all its members. Hence flow that lenity and moderation that are mutually exercised by those who differ from one another in their religious sentiments; that prudence and caution that are used in estimating opinions and deciding controversies; that protection and support that are granted to men of worth, when attacked by the malice of bigotry; and that visible diminution of the errors, frauds, crimes, and cruelties, with which superstition formerly embittered the pleasures of human life, and the enjoyments of social intercourse.

The study of eloquence and the languages.

XXVIII. Many of the doctors of this century applied themselves, with eminent success, to the study of Hebrew and Greek literature, and of the Oriental languages and antiquities. And, as their progress in these kinds of erudition was rapid, so in many instances, was the use they made of them truly excellent and laudable. For, by these succours they were enabled to throw light on many difficult passages of the sacred writings that had been ill understood and injudiciously applied, and which some had even employed in supporting erroneous opinions, and giving a plausible colour to pernicious doctrines. Hence it happened, that many patrons and promoters of popular notions, and visionary and groundless fancies were deprived of the fallacious arguments by which they maintained their errors. It cannot also be denied, that the cause of religion received considerable benefit from the labours of those, who either endeavoured to preserve the purity and elegance of the Latin language, or who, beholding with emulation the example of the French, employed their industry in improving and polishing the languages of their respective countries. For it must be evidently both honourable and advantageous to the Christian church to have always in its bosom men of learning qualified to write

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write and discourse upon theological subjects with precision, elegance, ease, and perspicuity, that so the ignorant and perverse may be allured to receive instruction, and also be able to comprehend with facility the instructions they receive.

The law of nature is studied with attention.

XXIX. The rules of morality and practice, which were laid down in the sacred writings by Christ and his apostles, assumed an advantageous form, received new illustrations, and were supported upon new and solid principles, when that great system of law, that results from the constitution of nature, and the dictates of right reason, began to be studied with more diligence, and investigated with more accuracy and perspicuity than had been the case in preceding ages. In this sublime study of *the law of nature* the immortal Grotius led the way in his excellent book *Concerning the rights of War and Peace:* and such was the dignity and importance of the subject, that his labours excited the zeal and emulation of men of the most eminent genius and abilities [c], who turned their principal attention to this noble science. How much the labours of these great men contributed to assist the ministers of the Gospel, both in their discourses and writings concerning the duties and obligations of Christians, may be easily seen by comparing the books of a practical kind that have been published since the period now under consideration, with those that were in vogue before that time. [☞ There is scarcely a discourse upon any subject of Christian morality, how inconsiderable soever it may be, that does not bear some marks of the improvement which was introduced into the science

[c] See Adam. Frid. Glafey *Historia Juris Naturæ;* to which is subjoined his *Bibliotheca Juris Naturæ et Gentium.*

science of morals by those great men, who studied that science in the paths of nature, in the frame and constitution of rational and moral beings, and in the relations by which they are rendered members of one great family, under the inspection and government of one common and universal [*d*] Parent]. It is unquestionably certain, that since this period the dictates of natural law, and the duties of Christian morality, have been more accurately defined; certain evangelical precepts, whose nature aud foundations were but imperfectly comprehended in the times of old, more clearly illustrated; the superiority which distinguishes the morality of the Gospel from that course of duty that is deducible from the mere light of nature, more fully demonstrated; and those common notions and general principles, which are the foundations of moral obligation, and are every way adapted to dispel all doubts that may arise, and all controversies that may be started, concerning the nature of evangelical righteousness and virtue, established with greater evidence and certainty. It may also be added, that the impiety of those infidels who have had the effrontery to maintain that the precepts of the Gospel are contrary to the dictates of sound reason, repugnant to the constitution of our nature, inconsistent with the interests of civil society, adapted to enervate the mind, and to draw men off from the business, the duties, and enjoyments of life [*e*], has been much more triumphantly refuted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, than in any other period of the Christian church.

XXX. To

[*d*] This sentence, beginning with *There is scarcely a discourse*, and ending with *Universal Parent*, is added by the translator.

[*e*] Rouss. *Contr. Soc.*

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The state of the Aristotelian and Paracelsistic philosophy.

XXX. To these reflections upon the state of learning and science in general, it may not be improper to add a particular and separate account of the progress and revolutions of philosophy in the Christian schools. At the beginning of this century almost all the European philosophers were divided into two classes, one of which comprehended the *Peripatetics*, and the other the *Chemists*, or *Fire-philosophers*, as they were often stiled. These two classes contended warmly for many years which should have the pre-eminence; and a great number of laboured and subtile productions were published during the course of this philosophical contest. The *Peripatetics* were in possession of the professorships in almost all the schools of learning, and looked upon all such as presumed, either to reject, or even amend the doctrines of Aristotle, as objects of indignation, little less criminal than traitors and rebels. It is however observable, that the greatest part of these supercilious and persecuting doctors, if we except those of the academies of *Tubingen*, *Altorf*, *Juliers*, and *Leipsic*, were less attached to Aristotle himself than to his modern interpreters and commentators. The *Chemists* spread themselves through almost all *Europe*, and assumed the obscure and ambiguous title of *Rosecrucian Brethren* [*f*], which drew at first some degree of respect,

[*f*] The title of *Rosecrucians* evidently denotes the *chemical* philosophers, and those who blended the doctrines of religion with the secrets of chemistry. The denomination itself is drawn from the science of chemistry; and they only who are acquainted with the peculiar language of the chemists can understand its true signification and energy. It is not compounded, as many imagine, of the two words *rosa* and *crux*, which signify *rose* and *cross*, but of the latter of these words, and the Latin word *ros* which signifies *dew*. Of all natural bodies, *dew* is the most powerful dissolvent of gold. The *cross*, in the chemical style, is equivalent to *light*; because the figure of the cross X exhibits, at the same time, the three letters of which the

spect, as it seemed to be borrowed from the arms of Luther, which were a *cross* placed upon a *rose*. They inveighed against the *Peripatetics* with a singular degree of bitterness and animosity, represented them as corrupters both of religion and philosophy, and published a multitude of treatises against them, which discovered little else than their folly and their malice. At the head of these fanatics were Robert Fludd [*g*], a native of *England*, and a man of surprising genius; Jacob Behmen, a shoe-maker, who lived at *Gorlitz;* and Michael Mayer [*h*]. These leaders of the

the word *lux*, i. e. *light* is compounded. Now *lux* is called by this sect the *seed* or *menstrum of the red dragon;* or, in other words, that gross and corporeal light, which, when properly digested and modified, produces gold. From all this it follows, that a *Rosecrucian* philosopher is one who, by the intervention and assistance of the dew, seeks for light, or, in other words, the substance called the *Philosopher's Stone*. All other explications of this term are false and chimerical. The interpretations that are given of it by the chemists, who love, on all occasions, to involve themselves in intricacy and darkness, are invented merely to deceive those who are strangers to their mysteries. The true energy and meaning of this denomination of *Rosecrucians* did not escape the penetration and sagacity of Gassendi, as appears by his *Examen Philosophiæ Fluddanæ*, sect. xv. tom. iii. opp. p. 261. It was, however, still more fully explained by Renaudot, a famous French physician, in his *Conferences, Publiques*, tom. iv. p. 87. There is a great number of materials and anecdotes relating to the fraternity, rules, observances, and writings of the *Rosecrucians* (who made such a noise in this century), to be found in Arnold's *Kirchen-und Kitzer Histoire*, part II. p. 1114.

[*g*] See for an account of this singular man, from whose writings Jacob Behmen derived all his mystical and rapturous doctrine, Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, vol. i. p. 610, and *Histor. et Antiqq. Academiæ Oxoniensis*, lib. ii. p. 308.—For an account of Helmont, father, and son, see Hen. Witte, *Memor. Philosoph.*—Joach. Frid. Feller, in *Miscellan. Leibnitian.*—Several writers besides Arnoldi have given an account of Jacob Behmen *.

[*h*] See Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 376.

* See for a further account of Jacob Behmen, Sect. II. Part II. Chap. I. Sect. XL. of this History.

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the sect were followed by John Baptist Helmont, and his son Francis, Christian Knorrius de Rosenroth, Kuhlman, Nollius, Sperber, and many others of various fame. An uniformity of opinion, and a spirit of concord, seem scarcely possible in such a society as this. For as a great part of its doctrine is derived from certain internal feeling, and certain flights of imagination, which can neither be comprehended nor defined, and is supported by certain testimonies of the external senses, whose reports are equally illusory and changeable; so it is remarkable, that, among the more eminent writers of this sect, there are scarcely any two who adopt the same tenets and sentiments. There are, nevertheless, some common principles that are generally embraced, and that serve as a centre of union to the society. They all maintain, that the dissolution of bodies, by the power of fire, is the only way through which men can arrive at true wisdom, and come to discern the first principles of things. They all acknowledge a certain analogy and harmony between the powers of nature and the doctrines of religion, and believe that the Deity governs *the kingdom of grace* by the same laws with which he rules *the kingdom of nature;* and hence it is that they employ chemical denominations to express the truths of religion. They all hold, that there is a sort of *divine energy*, or *soul* diffused through the frame of the universe, which some call *Archæus*, others the *Universal Spirit*, and which others mention under different appellations. They all talk in the most obscure and superstitious manner of what they call the *signatures of things*, of the power of the stars over all corporeal beings, and their particular influence upon the human race, of the efficacy of magic, and the various ranks and orders of demons. In fine, they all agree in throwing out the most crude

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crude, incomprehensible notions and ideas, in the most obscure, quaint, and unusual expressions.

The philosophy of Gassendi.

XXXI. This controversy between the *Chemists* and *Peripatetics* was buried in silence and oblivion, as soon as a new and more seemly form of philosophy was presented to the world by two great men, who reflected a lustre upon the French nation, Gassendi and Des Cartes. The former, whose profound knowledge of mathematics and astronomy was accompanied with the most engaging eloquence, and an acquaintance with all the various branches of solid erudition and polite literature, was canon of *Digne*, and professor of mathematics at *Paris*. The latter, who was a man of quality and bred a soldier, surpassed the greatest part of his contemporaries in acuteness, subtilty, and extent of genius, though he was much inferior to Gassendi in point of learning. In the year 1624, Gassendi attacked Aristotle, and the whole sect of his commentators and followers, with great resolution and ingenuity [*i*]; but the resentment and indignation which he drew upon himself from all quarters by this bold attempt, and the sweetness of his natural temper, which made him an enemy to dissension and contest, engaged him to desist, and to suspend an enterprise, that, by opposing the prejudices, was so adapted to inflame the passions of the learned. Hence no more than two books of the work he had composed against the Aristotelians were made public; the other five were suppressed [*j*]. He also wrote against Fludd, and, by refuting him,

☞ [*i*] The title of this book against the Aristotelians is as follows: *Exercitationum paradoxicarum adversus Aristoteleos Libri* VII. *in quibus præcipua totius Peripateticæ Doctrinæ fundamenta executiuntur, opiniones vero, aut ex vetustioribus obsoletæ, stabiliuntur.*

[*j*] See Bougerell, *Vie de* Gassendi. p. 17. & 23.

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refuted at the same time the *Rosecrucian Brethren;* and here the Aristotelians seemed to behold his labours with a favourable eye. After having overturned several false and visionary systems of philosophy, he began to think of substituting something more solid and satisfactory in their place, and in pursuance of this design he proceeded with the utmost circumspection and caution. He recommended to others, and followed himself, that wise method of philosophical investigation, which, with a slow and timorous pace, rises from the objects of sense to the discussions of reason, and arrives at truth by assiduity, experiment, and an attentive observation of the laws of nature; or, to express the same thing in other words, Gassendi struck out that judicious method, which by an attention to facts, to the changes and motions of the natural world, leads by degrees to general principles, and lays a solid foundation for rational enquiry. In the application of this method, he had recourse chiefly to mathematical succours, from a persuasion that demonstration and certainty were the peculiar fruits of that accurate and luminous science. He drew no assistance from the science of metaphysics, which he overlooked from an opinion that the greatest part of its rules and decisions were too precarious to satisfy a sincere inquirer, animated with the love of truth [*k*].

The Cartesian philosophy.

XXXII. Des Cartes followed a very different method in his philosophical researches. He abandoned the mathematics which he had at first looked

[*k*] See Gassendi's *Institutiones Philosophiæ;* a diffuse production, which takes up the two first volumes of his works, and in which his principal design is to shew, that those opinions, of both the ancient and modern philosophers, which are deduced from metaphysical principles, have little solidity, and are generally defective in point of evidence and perspicuity.

looked upon as the tree of knowledge, and employed the science of abstract ideas, or metaphysics, in the investigation of truth. Having accordingly laid down a few plain general principles, which seemed to be deduced immediately from the nature of man, his first business was to form *distinct notions* of Deity, matter, soul, body, space, the universe, and the various parts of which it is composed. From these notions, examined with attention, compared and combined together according to their mutual relations, connections, and resemblances, and reduced into a kind of system, he proceeded still further, and made admirable use of them in reforming the other branches of philosophy, and giving them a new degree of stability and consistence. This he effected by connecting all his branches of philosophical reasonings in such a manner, that *principles* and *consequences* followed each other in the most accurate order, and that the latter seemed to flow from the former in the most natural manner. This method of pursuing truth could not fail to attract the admiration of many: and so indeed it happened; for no sooner had Des Cartes published his discoveries in philosophy, than a considerable number of eminent men, in different parts of *Europe*, who had long entertained a high disgust against the inelegant and ambiguous jargon of the schools, adopted these discoveries with zeal, declared their approbation of the new system, and expressed their desire that its author should be substituted in the place of the Peripatetics, as a philosophical guide to the youth in the public seminaries of learning. On the other hand, the Peripatetics, or Aristotelians, seconded by the influence of the clergy, who apprehended that the cause of religion was aimed at, and endangered by these philosophical innovations, made a prodigious noise, and left no means unemployed to prevent the downfal of

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their old system, and to diminish the growing reputation of the new philosophy. To execute this invidious purpose with the more facility, they not only accused Des Cartes of the most dangerous and pernicious errors, but went so far, in the extravagance of their malignity, as to bring a charge of Atheism against him. This furious zeal of the Aristotelians will not appear so extraordinary when it is considered, that they contended, not so much for their philosophical system as for the honours, advantages, and profits they derived from it. The *Theosophists*, *Rosecrucians*, and *Chemists*, entered into this contest against Des Cartes, but conducted themselves with more moderation than the Aristotelians, notwithstanding their persuasion that the Peripatetic philosophy, though chimerical and impious, was much less intolerable than the Cartesian system [*l*]. The consequences of this dispute were favourable to the progress of science; for the wiser part of the European philosophers, although they did not at all adopt the sentiments of Des Cartes, were nevertheless encouraged and animated by his example to carry on their enquiries with more freedom from the restraints of traditional and personal authority than they had formerly done, and to throw resolutely from their necks that yoke of servitude, under which Aristotle and his followers had so long kept them in subjection.

Gassendi the chief adversary of Des Cartes.

XXXIII. The most eminent contemporaries of Des Cartes applauded in general, the efforts he made towards the reformation of philosophy, and that noble resolution with which he broke the shackles of magisterial authority, and struck out new paths in which he proceeded without a guide, in the search after truth. They also approved of his method of arising, with caution and accuracy,

[*l*] See Baillet, *Vie de* Des Cartes.—As also the *General Dictionary* at the article *Des Cartes*.

accuracy, from the most simple, and, as it were, the primary dictates of reason and nature, to truths and propositions of a more complex and intricate kind, and of admitting nothing as truth, that was not *clearly* and *distinctly* apprehended as such. They went still further, and unanimously acknowledged, that he had made most valuable and important discoveries in philosophy, and had demonstrated several truths, which, before his time, were received upon no other evidence than that of tradition and conjecture. But these acknowledgments did not hinder some of those who made them with the greatest sincerity, from finding several essential defects in the philosophy of this great man. They looked upon his account of the causes and principles of natural things to be for the most part hypothetical, founded on fancy rather than experience. Nay, they attacked the fundamental principles upon which the whole system of his philosophy was built, such as his ideas of the Deity, of the universe, of matter and spirit, of the laws of motion, and other points that were connected with these. Some of these principles they pronounced uncertain; others of a pernicious tendency, and adapted to engender the most dangerous errors; others again they considered as directly contrary to the language of experience. At the head of these objectors was his own fellow-citizen Gassendi, who had made war before him upon the Aristotelians and Chemists; who, in genius, was his equal; in learning by much his superior; and whose mathematical knowledge was most uncommon and extensive. This formidable adversary directed his first attacks against the metaphysical principles which supported the whole structure of the Cartesian philosophy. He then proceeded still farther; and in the place of the physical system of Des Cartes, substituted one that

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resembled not a little the natural philosophy of Epicurus, though far superior to it in solidity, much more rational, consistent, and perfect, being founded, not on the illusory visions of fancy, but on the testimony of sense and the dictates of experience [*m*]. This new and sagacious observer of nature had not many followers, and his disciples were much less numerous than those of Des Cartes. But what he wanted in number, was sufficiently compensated by the merit and reputation of those who adopted his philosophical system; for he was followed by some of the most eminent men in *Europe*, by persons distinguished in the highest degree, by their indefatigable application, and their extensive knowledge, both of natural philosophy and mathematics. It is also observable, that he had but few disciples in his own country; but among the *English*, who in his time were remarkable for their application to studies of a physical and mathematical kind, a considerable number adopted his philosophical system. Nay, it is remarkable, that even those eminent philosophers and divines, such as Whichcot, Gale, Cudworth, and More, who entered the lists with Hobbes, (whose doctrine came nearer to the principles of Gassendi than to the system of Des Cartes), and revived ancient Platonism in order

[*m*] See his *Disquisitio Metaphysica, sue Dubitationes et Instantiæ adversus Cartessi Mataphisicam, et Responsa*, which are published in the third volume of his works, p. 283.—Bernier, a celebrated French physician, has given an accurate view of the philosophy of Gassendi in his abridgment of it, published in French at *Lyons*, in the year 1684, in eight volumes in 12mo. This abridgment will give the reader a clearer account of this philosophy than even the works of Gassendi himself, in which his meaning is often expressed in an ambiguous manner, and which are, besides loaded with superfluous erudition. The life of Gassendi, accurately written by Bougerelle, a priest of the oratory, was published at *Paris* in 1737.—See *Biblioth. Francoise*, tom. xxvii. p. 353.

order to crush under its weight the philosopher of *Malmesbury*, placed Gassendi and Plato in the same class, and explained the sentiments of the latter in such a manner as to make them appear quite agreeable to the principles of the former [*n*].

Two leading philosophical sects, viz. The Mathematical and Metaphysical.

XXXIV. From this period must be dated that famous schism that divided the philosophical world into two great sects, which, though almost agreed concerning those points that are of the greatest utility and importance in human life, differ widely about the principles of human knowledge, and the fundamental points from whence the philosopher must proceed in his search of truth. Of these sects the one may properly be called *Metaphysical*, and the other *Mathematical*. The *Metaphysical* sect follows the system of Des Cartes; the *Mathematical* one directs its researches by the principles of Gassendi. The former looks upon truth as attainable by abstract reasoning; the latter seeks after it by observation and experience. The follower of Des Cartes attributes little to the external senses, and much to meditation and discussion. The disciple of Gassendi, on the contrary, places little confidence in metaphysical discussion, and has principally recourse to the reports of sense, and the contemplation of nature. The *former*, from a small number of abstract truths, deduce a long series of propositions in order to arrive at a precise and accurate knowledge of God and nature, of body and spirit; the *latter* admits these metaphysical truths, but at the same time denies the possibility of erecting, upon their basis, a regular and solid system of philosophy,

 without

[*n*] See the *Preface* to the Latin translation of Cudworth's *Intellectual System*; as also, the *Remarks* that are added to that translation. ☞ Dr. Mosheim is the author of that *Translation* and of these *Remarks*.

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without the aid of assiduous observation and repeated experiments, which are the most natural and effectual means of philosophical progress and improvement. The *one*, eagle-like, soars with an intrepid flight, to the first fountain of truth, and to the general relations and final causes of things; and descending from thence, explains, by them, the various changes and appearances of nature, the attributes and counsels of the Deity, the moral constitution and duties of man, the frame and structure of the universe. The *other*, more difficult and cautious, observes with attention, and examines with assiduity, the objects that are before his eyes; and arises gradually from them to the first cause, and the primordial principle of things. The *Cartesians* suppose, that many things are known by man with the utmost certainty; and hence their propensity to form their opinions and doctrines into a regular system. The followers of Gassendi consider man as in a state of ignorance with respect to an immense number of things, and, consequently, think it incumbent upon them to suspend their judgment in a multitude of cases, until time and experience dispel their darkness; and hence it is also, that they consider a *system* as an attempt of too adventurous a nature, and by no means proportioned to the narrow extent of human knowledge; or, at least, they think, that the business of *system-making* ought to be left to the philosophers of future times, who, by joining together the observations, and experience of many ages, shall have acquired a more satisfactory and accurate knowledge of nature than has been yet attained.

These dissensions and contests concerning the first principles of human knowledge, produced various debates upon other subjects of the utmost moment and importance; such as, the *nature of God*, the *essence of matter*, the *elements* or constituent

tuent principles *of bodies*, the *laws of motion*, the *manner* in which the Divine Providence exerts itself *in the government of the world, the frame and structure* of the universe, the *nature*, *union*, and *joint operations* of *soul* and *body*. If we consider attentively the profound and intricate nature of these subjects, together with the limits, debility, and imperfections of the human understanding, we shall see too much reason to fear, that these contests will last as long as the present state of man [*o*]. The wise and the good, sensible of this, will carry on such debates with a spirit of mildness and mutual forbearance; and knowing that differences in opinions are inevitable where truth is so difficult of access, will guard against that temerity with which too many disputants accuse their antagonists of irreligion and impiety [*p*].

XXXV. All

[*o*] Voltaire published in the year 1740, at *Amsterdam*, a pamphlet, entitled, *La Metaphysique de Newton, ou Parallele des Sentimens de Newton et de Leibnitz*, which, though superficial and inaccurate, may, nevertheless be useful to those readers who have not application enough to draw from better sources, and are, nevertheless, desirous to know how much these two philosophical sects differ in their principles and tenets.

[*p*] It is abundantly known that Des Cartes and his metaphysical followers were accused by many of striking at the foundations of all religion; nor is this accusation entirely withdrawn even in our times. See in the miscellaneous works of Father Hardouin his *Atheists Unmasked*. Among these pretended Atheists, Des Cartes with his two famous disciples, Anthony le Grand, and Silvan Regis hold the first rank; nor is Father Malebranche, though he seems rather chargeable with fanaticism than atheism, exempted from a place in this odious list. It is true Hardouin, who gives so liberally a place in the atheistical class to these great men, was himself a visionary dreamer, whose judgment, in many cases, is little to be respected; but it is also true, that, in the work now under consideration, he does not reason from his own whimsical notions, but draws all his arguments from those of the followers of Aristotle and Gassendi, who have

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The Metaphysical or Cartesian philosophy improved and propagated with success.

XXXV. All those who had either adopted, without exception, the principles of Des Cartes, or who, without going so far, had approved of the method and rules laid down by him for the investigation of truth, employed all their zeal and industry in correcting, amending, confirming, and illustrating, the Metaphysical species of philosophy; and the number of its votaries was prodigious, particularly in *France* and in the *United Provinces*. But among the members of this philosophical sect there were some who aimed at the destruction of all religion, more especially Spinoza, and others, who, like Balthasar Becker [*q*], made use of the principles of Des Cartes, to overturn some doctrines of Christianity, and to pervert others. This circumstance proved disadvantageous to the whole sect, and brought it into disrepute in many places. The Metaphysical philosophy fell, however, afterwards into

have opposed, with the greatest success and acuteness, the Cartesian system. Even Voltaire, notwithstanding the moderation with which he expresses himself, seems plainly enough to give his assent to the accusers of Des Cartes. On the other hand, it must be observed, that these accusers are censured in their turn by several modern metaphysicians. Gassendi, for example, is charged by Arnauld with overturning the doctrine of the soul's immortality in his controversy with Des Cartes, and by Leibnitz with corrupting and destroying the whole system of natural religion. See Des Maizeaux, *Recueil de diverses pieces sur la Philosophie*, tom. ii. p. 166*. Leibnitz has also ventured to affirm, that Sir Isaac Newton and his followers rob the Deity of some of his most excellent attributes, and sap the foundations of natural religion. In short, the controversial writings on both sides are filled with rash and indecent reproaches of this kind.

☞ [*q*] See for a further account of the particular tenets and opinions of Becker, Sect. II. Part II. Chap. II. Sect. XXXV. of this century.

☞ * If Dr. Mosheim refers to the second edition of Des Maizeaux Recueil, the page is inaccurately quoted; for it is at page 155 of the volume above mentioned, that Gassendi is censured by Leibnitz. It may be further observed, that the censure is not conveyed in such strong terms as those employed by our historian. Leibnitz says, that Gassendi appeared to hesitate and waver too much concerning the nature of the soul, and the principles of natural religion.

into better hands, and was treated with great wisdom and acuteness by Malebranche, a man of uncommon eloquence and subtilty; and by Leibnitz, whose name is consigned to immortality as one of the greatest geniuses that have appeared in the world [*r*]. Neither of these great men, indeed, adopted all the principles and doctrines of Des Cartes; but they both approved, upon the whole, of his philosophical method, which they enlarged, amended, and improved, by several additions and corrections, that rendered its procedure more luminous and sure. This is more especially true of Leibnitz, who rejecting the suggestions of fancy, seemed to follow no other guides than reason and judgment; for Malebranche having received from nature a warm and exuberant imagination was too much ruled by its dictates, and was thus often imperceptibly led into the visionary regions of enthusiasm.

The progress of the Mathematical sect.

XXXVI. The Mathematical philosophy already mentioned, was much less studied and adopted than the Metaphysical system, and its followers in *France* were very few in number. But it met with a favourable reception in *Britain*, whose philosophers perceiving, in its infant and unfinished features, the immortal lines of Verulam's wisdom, snatched it from its cradle, in a soil where it was ready to perish, cherished it with parental tenderness,

[*r*] For an ample and interesting account of Malebranche and his philosophy, see Fontenelle's *Eloge des Academiciens de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, tom. i. p. 317. and for a view of the errors and defects of his metaphysical system, see Hardouin's *Atheist unmasked*, in his *Oeuvres Melées*, p. 43.—Fontenelle has also given an account of the life and philosophical sentiments of Leibnitz in the work already quoted, vol. ii. p. 9; but a much more ample one has been published in German by Charles Gunther Lewis, in his history of the *Leibnitian Philosophy*. However, the genius and philosophy of this great man are best to be learned from his letters to Kortholt, published at *Leipsic* in three vols.

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tenderness, and have still continued their zealous efforts to bring it to maturity and perfection. The Royal Society of *London*, which may be considered as the philosophical seminary of the nation, took it under their protection, and have neither spared expence nor pains to cultivate and improve it, and to render it subservient to the purposes of life. It owed, more especially, a great part of its progress and improvement to the countenance, industry, and genius of that immortal protector of science, the pious and venerable Mr. Boyle, whose memory will be ever precious to the worthy and the wise, the friends of religion, learning, and mankind. The illustrious names of Barrow, Wallis, and Locke, may also be added to the list of those who contributed to the progress of natural knowledge. Nor were the learned divines of the *English* nation (though that Order has often excited the complaints of philosophers, and been supposed to behold, with a jealous and suspicious eye, the efforts of philosophy as dangerous to the cause of religion) less zealous than the other patrons of science in this noble cause. On the contrary, they looked upon the improvement of natural knowledge not only as innocent but of the highest utility and importance; as admirably adapted to excite and maintain in the minds of men a profound veneration for the Supreme Creator and Governor of the world, and to furnish new supports to the cause of religion; and also as agreeable both to the laws and the spirit of the Gospel, and to the sentiments of the primitive church. And hence it was that those doctors who in the lectures founded by Mr. Boyle, attacked the enemies of religion, employed in this noble and pious attempt the succours of philosophy with the most happy and triumphant success. But the immortal man, to whose immense genius and indefatigable industry

dustry philosophy owed its greatest improvements, and who carried the lamp of knowledge into paths of nature that had been unexplored before his time, was Sir Isaac Newton [*s*], whose name was revered, and his genius admired, even by his warmest adversaries. This great man spent, with uninterrupted assiduity, the whole of a long life in correcting, digesting, and enlarging, the new philosophy, and in throwing upon it the light of demonstration and evidence, both by observing the laws of nature, and by subjecting them to the rules of calculation; and thus he introduced a great change into natural science, and brought it to a very high degree of perfection [*t*]. The

☞ [*s*] Mr. Hume's account of this great man is extremely just, and contains some peculiar strokes that do honour to this elegant painter of minds. "In Newton, *says he*, this island "may boast of having produced the greatest and rarest genius "that ever arose for the ornament and instruction of the spe- "cies. Cautious in admitting no principles, but such as were "founded in experiment; but resolute to adopt every such "principle, however new and unusual: From modesty igno- "rant of his superiority above the rest of mankind, and thence "less careful to accommodate his reasonings to common ap- "prehensions: More anxious to merit, than acquire fame: "He was from these causes, long unknown to the world, but "his reputation, at last, broke out with a lustre, which scarce "any writer during his own lifetime, had ever before attain- "ed. While Newton seemed to draw off the veil from some "of the mysteries of nature, he shewed, at the same time the "imperfections of the mechanical philosophy; and thereby "restored her ultimate secrets to that obscurity, in which they "ever did, and ever will remain."

[*t*] The *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, as also the other writings, whether philosophical, mathematical, or theological, of this great man, are abundantly known. There is an elegant account of his life and literary philosophical merit given by Fontenelle, in his *Eloge des Academiciens de l' Academie Royale des Sciences*, tom. ii. p. 293—323.—See also the *Biblioth. Angloise*, tom. xv. part II. p. 545, and *Biblioth. Raisonnec*, tom. vi. part II. p. 478. ☞ See more especially the late learned and ingenious Mr. Maclaurin's *Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries*, &c.

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The *English* look upon it as an unquestionable proof of the solidity and excellence of the Newtonian philosophy, that its most eminent votaries were friends to religion, and have transmitted to posterity shining examples of piety and virtue; while, on the contrary, the Cartesian or Metaphysical system has exhibited, in its followers, many flagrant instances of irreligion, and some of the most horrid impiety.

Of the philosophers who adopt neither of these systems.

XXXVII. The two famous philosophical sects now mentioned, deprived, indeed, all the ancient systems of natural science, both of their credit and their disciples; and hence it might have been expected that they would have totally engrossed and divided between them the suffrages of the learned. But this was not the case; the liberty of thinking being restored by Des Cartes and Newton, who broke the fetters of prejudice, in which philosophical superstition had confined, in former times, the human understanding, a variety of sects sprung up. Some trusting in their superior genius and sagacity, and others, more remarkable for the exuberance of their fancy than for the solidity of their judgment, pretended to strike out new paths in the unknown regions of nature, and new methods of investigating truth; but the number of their disciples was small, and the duration of their inventions transitory, and therefore it is sufficient to have barely mentioned them. There was another sort of men, whom mediocrity of genius, or an indolent turn of mind, indisposed for investigating truth by the exertion of their own talents and powers, and who, terrified at the view of such an arduous task, contented themselves with borrowing from the different sects such of their respective tenets as appeared most remarkable for their perspicuity and solidity, more especially those concerning which all the different

different sects were agreed. These they compiled and digested into a system, and pushed their inquiries no further. The philosophers of this class are generally termed *Eclectics*. From these remarkable differences of sentiment and system that reigned among the jarring sects, some persons, otherwise distinguished by their acuteness and sagacity, took occasion to represent truth as unattainable by such a short-sighted being as man, and to revive the desperate and uncomfortable doctrine (shall I call it, or jargon), of the Sceptics, that had long been buried in that silence and oblivion it so justly deserved. The most eminent of these cloudy philosophers were Sanches, a physician of *Toulouse* [*u*], de la Mothe le Vayer [*w*], Huet, bishop of *Avranches* [*z*], to whom we may add, without temerity, the famous Bayle,

[*u*] There is still extant a famous book of this writer, entitled, *De eo quod nihil scitur*, which, with the rest of his works and an account of his life, was published in 4to at *Toulouse*, in the year 1636.—See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Sanghez*; as also, Villemandi *Scepticismus debellatus*, cap. iv. p. 32.

[*w*] See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the aricle *Vayer*.

[*x*] Huet's book *Concerning the Weakness of Human Reason*, was published after his death, in French, at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1723, and lately in Latin. It appears, however, that this eminent writer had, long before the composition of this book, recommended the sceptical method of conducting philosophical researches, and looked upon this method as the best adapted to establish the truth of Christianity upon solid foundations. See the *Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, lib. iv. p. 230. and *Demonstrat, Evangelicæ Præfat.* sect. iv. p. 9. where he commends *their* manner of proceeding, *who*, by sceptical arguments, invalidate all philosophical principles, before they begin to prove the truth of Christianity to those who doubt of its evidence. It is well known that the Jesuits, who were particularly favoured by Huet, have, on many occasions, employed this method to throw dust into the eyes of the Protestants, and thus lead them blindfold into the Romish communion: and that they still continue to practise the same insidious instrument of seduction.

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Bayle [*y*], who, by the erudition and wit that abound in his voluminous works, has acquired such a distinguished reputation in the Republic of Letters.

[*y*] Every thing relating to the life and sentiments of Bayle is abundantly and universally known. His life composed by Des Maizeaux, was published in the year 1732, at the *Hague*, in two volumes 8vo.—The scepticism of this insidious and seducing writer was unmasked and refuted, with great learning and force of argument by the late Mr. Crouza, in a voluminous French work entitled, *Traite du Pyrrhonisme*, of which Mr. Formey has given an elegant and judicious abridgment under the title of *Triumphe de l'Evidence*.

SECTION II.

PART I.

The History of the more Ancient Churches.

CHAP. I.

Containing the History of the Romish Church.

The popes of this century.

I. HIPPOLITO ALDOBRANDINI, under the papal name of Clement VIII. continued to rule the church of *Rome* at the commencement of this century, having been elected to that high dignity towards the conclusion of the preceding one. The eminent abilities and insidious dexterity of this pontiff, as also his ardent desire of extinguishing the Protestant religion, and extending the limits of the Romish church, are universally acknowledged; but it is much questioned, whether his prudence was equal to the arduous nature of his station as pontiff, and the critical circumstances of an incidental kind that arose during his administration [*a*]. He was succeeded in the year 1605 by Leo XI. of the house of Medicis, who died a few weeks after his election; and thus left the papal chair open to Camillo Borghese, who filled it under the denomination of Paul V. This pontiff was of a haughty and violent spirit,

☞ [*a*] This pontiff had an edition of the *Vulgate* published, which was very different from that of Pope Sixtus; and this is one of the many instances of the *contrariety* of opinions that has prevailed amongst the *infallible* heads of the church of Rome.

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jealous to excess of his authority, and insatiably furious in the execution of his vengeance upon such as encroached on his pretended prerogative, as appears in a striking manner, by his rash and unsuccessful contest with the Venetians [*b*].—Gregory XV. [*c*], who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1621, seemed to be of a milder disposition, though he was not less defective than his predecessor in equity and clemency towards those that had separated themselves from the church of *Rome*. An unjust severity against the friends of the Reformation is, indeed, the general and inevitable character of the Roman pontiffs; for, without

☞ [*b*] This contest arose, partly from the two edicts of the Republic of *Venice* for preventing the unnecessary increase of religious buildings, and the augmentation of the enormous wealth of the clergy; and partly from the prosecution of two ecclesiastics for capital crimes, who had not been delivered up to the Pope at his requisition. It is not surprising that these proceedings of the Venetians, however just and equitable, should inflame the ambitious fury of a pontiff who called himself *Vice-God, the Monarch of Christendom,* and *the Supporter of Papal Omnipotence.* Accordingly, Paul laid all the dominions of the Republic under an *interdict;* while the Venetians, on the other hand, declared that unjust and tyrannical mandate null and void; and banished from their territory the Jesuits and Capuchins, who had openly disobeyed the laws of the state. Preparations for war were making on both sides, when an accommodation, not very honourable to the Pope, was brought about by the mediation of Henry IV. of *France.* This controversy between the Pope and the Venetians produced several important pieces, composed by Sarpi on the side of the Republic, and by Baronius and Bellarmine in behalf of the pontiff. The controversy concerning the nature and limits of the Pope's pretended supremacy is judiciously stated, and the papal pretensions accurately examined, by Sarpi, in his history of this tyrannical *interdict,* which, in Italian, occupies the fourth volume of his works, and was translated into Latin by William Bedell, of *Cambridge.*—It was Paul V. that dishonoured his title of *Holiness,* and cast an eternal stain upon his *infallibility,* by an express approbation of the doctrine of Suarez, the Jesuit, in defence of the murder of kings.

☞ [*c*] His family-name was Alexander Ludivisio.

without this, they would be destitute of the predominant and distinctive mark of the papacy. A pope with sentiments of toleration and charity towards those who refuse a blind submission to his opinions and decisions, is a contradiction in terms. Urban VIII. whose family name was Maffei Barberini, and who, by his interest in the conclave, ascended the papal throne in the year 1623, was a man of letters, an eloquent writer, an elegant poet, and a generous and munificent patron of learning and genius [*d*]; but nothing can equal the rigour and barbarity with which he treated all that bore the name of Protestants. He may be indeed considered as a good and equitable ruler of the church, when compared with Innocent X. of the family of Pamfili, who succeeded him in the year 1644.— This unworthy pontiff, to a profound ignorance of all those things which it was necessary for a Christian bishop to know, joined the most shameful indolence and the most notorious profligacy. For he abandoned his person, his dignity, the administration of his temporal affairs, and the go-

[*d*] See Leoni Allatii *Apes Urbanæ*, of which Fabricius published a second edition at *Hamburg*. This little work is a sort of *Index*, or list, of all the learned and eminent men that adorned *Rome*, under the pontificate of Urban VIII. and experienced the munificence and liberality of that pontiff; and their number is far from being small. The Latin poems of Urban, which are not without a considerable portion of wit and elegance, have passed through several editions. ☞ These poems were composed while he was yet a cardinal. After his elevation to the pontificate, he published a remarkable edition of the *Romish Breviary*, and several *Bulls*; among which, that which abolishes the Order of *Female Jesuits*, and certain festivals, those relating to image-worship and to the condemnation of Jansenius' *Augustinus*, and that which confers the title of *Eminence* upon the cardinal-legates, and the three ecclesiastical electors, and the grand master of *Malta*, are the most worthy of notice.

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vernment of the church, to the disposal of Donna Olympia [*e*], a woman of corrupt morals, insatiable avarice, and boundless ambition [*f*]. His zealous endeavours to prevent the peace of *Westphalia*, however odious they may appear, when considered in themselves, ought not to be reckoned among his personal crimes, since it is to be supposed, that any other pontiff, in his place, would have made the same attempts without hesitation or remorse. He was succeeded in the papal chair in the year 1655, by Fabio Chigi, who assumed the title of Alexander VII. and who, though less odious than his predecessor, was nevertheless possessed of all the pernicious qualities that are necessary to constitute a true pope, and without which the papal jurisdiction and majesty canno tbe maintained. The other parts of his character are drawn much to his disadvantage, by several ingenious and eminent writers of the Romish church, who represent him as a man of a mean genius, unequal to great or difficult undertakings, full of craft and dissimulation, and chargeable with the most shameful levity and the greatest inconsistency of sentiment and conduct [*g*]. The

☞ [*e*] This Donna Olympia Maldachini was his brother's widow with whom he had lived, in an illicit commerce, before his elevation to the pontificate, in which his *Holiness* continued afterwards.

[*f*] See the *Memoires du Cardinal de Rhetz*, tom. iii. p. 102. tom. iv. p. 12. of the last edition published at *Geneva*.—For an account of the disputes between this pontiff and the French, see Bougeant, *Histoires de la paix de Westphalia*, tom. iv. p. 56.

[*g*] See *Memoires du Cardinal de Rhetz*, tom. iv. p. 16. 77. —*Memoires de M. Joly*, tom. ii. p. 186. 210. 237.—Arckenholtz, *Memoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 125. The craft and dissimulation attributed to this pontiff really constituted an essential part of his character; but it is not strictly true that he was a man *of a mean genius*, or unequal to *great and difficult undertakings*. He was a man of learning and discovered very eminent abilities at the treaty of *Munster*, where he

The two Clements IX. and X. who were elected successively to the papacy in the year 1668 and 1669, were concerned in few transactions that deserve to be transmitted to posterity [*h*]. This was not the case of Benedict Odeschalci, who is known in the list of pontiffs by the denomination of Innocent XI. and was raised to that high dignity in the year 1677 [*i*]. This respectable pontiff, acquired a very high and permanent reputation by the austerity of his morals, his uncommon courage and resolution, his dislike of the grosser superstitions that reigned in the Romish church, his attempts to reform the manners of the clergy, and to abolish a considerable number of those fictions and frauds that dishonour their ministry, and also by other solid and eminent virtues. But it appeared manifestly by his example that those pontiffs, who respect truth, and act from virtuous and Christian principles, may, indeed, form noble plans, but will never be able to bring them into execution, or at least

he was sent in the character of Nuncio. Some writers relate, that while he was in *Germany*, he had formed the design of abjuring Popery, and embracing the Protestant Religion; but was deterred from the execution of this purpose by the example of his cousin count Pompey, who was poisoned at *Lyons*, on his way to *Germany*, after he had abjured the Romish faith. These writers add, that Chigi, was confirmed in his religion by his elevation to the cardinalship. See Bayle, *Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres*, Octob. 1688.

☞ [*h*] Clement IX. was of the family of *Rospigliosi*, and the family-name of Clement X. was *Altieri*, see *Memoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 126. 131. There are upon record several transactions of Clement IX. that do him honour, and prove his dislike of nepotism, and his love of peace and justice.

☞ [*i*] Some maintain, and with the strongest appearance of truth, that this pontiff had formerly been a soldier, though this report is treated as groundless by Count Turrezonico, in his dissertation *De suppositiis militaribus Stipendiis Bened. Odeschalchi.* See an interesting account of this pontiff in Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Innocent XI.

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to give them that measure of stability and perfection, which is the object of their wishes. By his example and administration it appeared, that the wisest institutions and the most judicious establishments, will be unable to stand firm, for any considerable time, against the insidious stratagems, or declared opposition of a deluded multitude, who are corrupted by the prevalence of licentious morals, whose imaginations are impregnated with superstitious fictions and fables, whose credulity is abused by pious frauds, and whose minds are nourished, or rather amused, with vain rites and senseless ceremonies [*k*]. Be that as it may, all the wise and salutary regulations of Innocent XI. were suffered to go almost to ruin by the criminal indolence of Peter Ottoboni, who was raised to the head of the Romish church, in the year 1689, and assumed the name of Alexander VIII. A laudable attempt was made to revive them by Innocent XII. a man of uncommon merit and eminent talents whose name was Pignatelli, and who, in the year 1691, succeeded Alexander in the papal chair; nor were his zealous endeavours absolutely destitute of success. But it was also his fate to learn, by experience, that the most prudent and resolute pontiffs are unequal to such an arduous task, such an Herculean labour, as the reformation of the church and court of *Rome;* nor were the fruits of this good pope's wise administration enjoyed long after his decease.

[*k*] See *Journal Universal,* tom. i. p. 441. tom. vi. p. 306. The present Pope, Benedict XIV. * attempted, in the year 1743, the *cononization* of Innocent XI.; but the king of *France,* instigated by the Jesuits, has always opposed this design, and that more especially on account of the misunderstandings that always subsisted between Lewis XIV. and Innocent, of which more hereafter.

* This note was written during the life of Benedict XIV.

cease [*l*]. The pontiff, whose reign concluded this century, was John Francis Albani, who was raised to the head of the Romish church in the year 1699, and assumed the name of Clement XI. He surpassed in learning the whole college of cardinals, and was inferior to none of the preceding pontiffs in sagacity, lenity, and a desire, at least to govern well; but he was very far from opposing, with a proper degree of vigour and resolution, the inveterate corruptions and superstitious observances of the church over which he presided; on the contrary, he inconsiderately aimed at, what he thought, the honour and advantage of the church (that is, the glory and interests of its pontiff,) by measures that proved detrimental to both; and thus shewed, in a striking example, that popes, even of the best sort, may fall imperceptibly into the greatest mistakes, and commit the most pernicious blunders, through an imprudent zeal for extending their jurisdiction, and augmenting the influence and lustre of their station [*m*].

[*l*] For an account of the character, morals, and election of Innocent XII. see the *Letters* of Cardinal Noris, published in the fifth volume of his *Works*, p. 362. 365.

[*m*] In the year 1752, there appeared at *Padua*, a Life of Clement XI. composed in French, by the learned and eloquent Mr. Lafitau, bishop of *Sisteron*, in two volumes 8vo. The same year Mr. Reboulet, Chancellor of *Avignon*, published in two volumes in 4to, his *Histoire de Clement* XI. These two productions, and more especially the latter, are written with uncommon elegance; but they both abound with historical errors, which the French writers, in general, are at too little pains to avoid. Besides, they are both composed rather in the strains of panegyric, than of history. An attentive reader will, however, see without pain, even in these panegyrics, that Clement XI. notwithstanding his acknowledged sagacity and prudence, took several rash and inconsiderate steps, in order to augment the power, and multiply the prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs; and thus, through his own temerity, involved himself in various perplexities.

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The attempts made by the church of Rome, to oppress the Protestants and ruin their cause.

II. The incredible pains that were taken by the pontiffs and clergy of the Romish Church to spread their doctrine and to erect their dominion among the nations that lay in the darkness of Paganism, have been already mentioned. We are, therefore, at present, to confine our narration to the schemes they laid, the cabals they formed, and the commotions they excited, with an uninterrupted and mischievous industry, in order to recover the possessions and prerogatives they had lost in *Europe*, to oppress the Protestants, and to extinguish the light of the glorious Reformation. Various were the stratagems and projects they formed for these purposes. The resources of genius, the force of arms, the seduction of the most alluring promises, the terrors of the most formidable threatenings, the subtle wiles of controversy, the influence of pious, and often of impious frauds, the arts of dissimulation, in short, all possible means fair and disingenuous, were employed for the destruction of the Reformed churches, but in most cases without success. The plan of a dreadful attack upon the friends of the Reformation had been, for some time, laid in secret, and the bigotted and persecuting house of *Austria* was pitched upon to put it in execution. However, as injustice is seldom so insolent as not to seek for some pretext to mask, or at least to diminish its deformity, so the church of *Rome* endeavoured before-hand to justify the persecution, of which the flame was ready to break out. For this purpose, the pens of the perfidious and learned Scioppius [*n*], of the Jesuits Tanner, Possevin, Hager,

☞ [*n*] Scioppius seems rather to merit the titles of *malevolent*, and *furious*, that that of *perfidious*, unless his turning papist be considered by Dr. Mosheim as an instance of perfidy. This is the intemperate and odious satirist who was caned by the servants of the English ambassador at *Madrid*, for the invectives he had thrown out against king James I. in a book which was burnt by the hands of the common hangman at *Paris*.

Hager, Hederic, and Forer, jurists of *Dilligen*, were employed to represent the treaty of peace, made between Charles V. and the Protestants of *Germany*, as unjust, null, and even rendered void by the Protestants themselves, by their departing from, or at least, perverting, by various changes and modifications, the confession of *Augsburg* [*o*]. This injurious charge was proved groundless by several Lutheran doctors, who, of their own accord, defended their communion against this instance of popish calumny; but it was also refuted by public authority, even by the express order of John George, elector of *Saxony*. The task was committed to Matthew Hoe, who, in the years 1628, and 1631, published, in two volumes, an accurate and laborious defence of the Protestants, entitled *Defensio Pupillæ Evangelicæ*. The mouth of calumny was not stopped by these performances. The accusers continued their clamours, multiplied their libels, and had recourse to the succours of indecent raillery and sarcastical wit, to cover as well as they were able, the striking defects of a bad cause. On the other hand, the Lutheran writers exerted themselves in exposing the sophistry, and refuting the arguments and invectives of their adversaries.

Commotions in Austria and Bohemia.

III. The first flames of that religious war, which the Roman pontiffs proposed to carry on by the arms of the Austrians and Spaniards, their servile and bigotted instruments, broke out in *Austria*, where, about the commencement of this century, the friends of the Reformation were cruelly persecuted and oppressed by their Roman-Catholic adversaries [*p*]. The solemn treaties and

[*o*] See Christ. Aug. Salig, *Histor. August. Confessionis*, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. p. 768.

[*p*] Raupachius, in his *Austria Evangelica* (a German work

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and conventions, by which the religious liberty and civil rights of these Protestants had been secured, were trampled upon, and violated in the most shocking manner; nor had these unhappy sufferers resolution, vigour, or strength sufficient to maintain their privileges. The Bohemians, who were involved in the same vexations, proceeded in a different manner. Perceiving plainly that the votaries of *Rome* aimed at nothing less than to deprive them of that religious liberty that had been purchased by the blood of their ancestors, and so lately confirmed to them by an imperial edict, they came to a resolution of opposing force to force, and of taking up arms to defend themselves against a set of men, whom, in consequence of the violence they offered to conscience, they could look upon in no other light than as the enemies of their souls. Accordingly a league was formed by the Bohemian Protestants, and they began to avenge with a great spirit and resolution, the injuries that had been committed against their persons, their families, their religion, and their civil rights and privileges. But it must be confessed, that, in this just attempt to defend what was dear to them as men and Christians, they lost sight of the dictates of equity and moderation, and carried their resentment beyond the bounds, both of reason and religion. Their adversaries were struck with terror at a view of their intrepidity, but were not dismayed. The Bohemians,

work with a Latin title), has given an accurate account of this persecution and these commotions. The same learned and worthy author had formed the design of publishing an authentic and circumstantial relation of the sufferings of the Protestants in *Stiria, Moravia,* and *Corinthia,* with an account of the perfidious snares that were laid for them, the whole drawn from unexceptionable records; but death prevented the execution of this design.

mians, therefore, apprehending still further opposition and vexations from bigotry, animated by a spirit of vengeance, renewed their efforts to provide for their security. The death of the emperor Matthias, which happened in the year 1619, furnished them, as they thought, a fair opportunity of striking at the root of the evil, and removing the source of their calamities, by choosing a sovereign of the reformed religion; for they considered themselves as authorized by the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom, to reject any that pretended to the throne by virtue of an hereditary right, and to demand a prince, whose title to the crown should be derived from the free suffrages of the states. Accordingly, Frederick V. elector Palatine, who professed the Reformed religion, was, in the year 1619, chosen king of *Bohemia*, and solemnly crowned at *Prague* [q].

The Bohemian war; Frederic V

IV. This bold step, from which the Bohemians expected such signal advantages, proved to them a source of complicated misfortunes. Its consequences were fatal to their new sovereign, and to their own liberties and privileges; for by it they were involved in the most dreadful calamities, and deprived of the free exercise of the Protestant religion, the security of which was the ultimate end of all the measures they had pursued. Frederick was defeated, before *Prague*, by the Imperial army, in the year 1620, and by this unfortunate battle was not only deprived of his new crown, but also of his hereditary dominions. Reduced thus to the wretched condition of

[q] Besides Caroli and Jagerus, who have composed the Ecclesiastical History of this Century, see Burch. Gotth. Struvii *Syntagma Historiæ Germanica*, p. 1487, 1510, 1523, 1538; as also the writers which he recommends. See also the *Histoire de* Louis XIII. composed by the learned and accurate Le Vassor, tom. iii. p. 223.

of an exile, he was obliged to leave his fruitful territories, and his ample treasures, to the merciless discretion of the Austrians and Bavarians, who plundered and ravaged them with the most rapacious barbarity. The defeat of this unfortunate prince was attended with dreadful consequences to the Bohemians, and more especially to those who, from a zeal for religious liberty and the interests of the Reformation, had embarked in his cause. Some of them were committed to a perpetual prison, others banished for life; several had their estates and possessions confiscated; many were put to death, and the whole nation was obliged, from that fatal period, to embrace the religion of the victor, and bend their unwilling necks under the yoke of *Rome*. The triumph of the Austrians would neither have been so sudden nor so complete, nor would they have been in a condition to impose such rigorous and despotic terms on the Bohemians, had they not been powerfully assisted by John George I. elector of *Saxony*, who, partly from a principle of hatred towards the *Reformed* [*r*], and partly from considerations of a political kind, reinforced with his troops the imperial army [*s*]. This invasion of the Palatinate was

☞ [*r*] By the *Reformed*, as has been already observed, we are to understand the *Calvinists*, and also, in general, all Protestants that are not of the *Lutheran* persuasion. And here we see a Lutheran elector drawing his sword to support the cause of popery and persecution against a people generously struggling for the Protestant Religion, and the rights of conscience.

[*s*] See the *Commentarii di Bello Bohemico-Germanico, ab A. C.* 1617 *ad A.* 1630, in 4to.—Abraham Scultet, *Narratio Apologetica de Curriculo Vitæ suæ*, p. 86.—It is well known, that the Roman Catholics, and more especially Martin Becan, a Jesuit, persuaded Matthew Hoe, who was an Austrian by birth, and the elector's chaplain, to represent to his prince the cause of the Elector Palatine (which was the cause of the *Reformed* Religion) as not only unjust, but also as detrimental to the interests of *Lutheranism*, and to recommend to

was the occasion of that long and bloody war, that was so fatal to *Germany*, and in which the greatest part of the princes of *Europe* were, one way or another, unhappily engaged. It began by a confederacy formed between some German powers and the king of *Denmark*, in order to assert the rights of the elector Palatine, unjustly excluded from his dominions, against the despotic proceedings of the emperor. The confederates maintained, that the invasion of *Bohemia*, by this unhappy prince, was no just subject of offence to the emperor; and that the house of *Austria*, whose quarrel the emperor was not obliged by any means to adopt, was alone the sufferer in this case. However that may have been, the progress and issue of the war were unfavourable to the allies.

The progress of the German or Bohemian war.

V. The success of the imperial arms filled the votaries of Popery and *Rome* with the warmest transports of joy and exultation, and presented to their imaginations the most flattering prospects. They thought that the happy period was now approaching, when the whole tribe of heretics, that had withdrawn their necks from the papal yoke, should either perish by the sword, or be reduced under the dominion of the church. The emperor himself seemed to have imbibed no small portion of this odious spirit, which was doubly prepared, to convert or destroy. The flame of ambition that burned within him, was nourished by the suggestions of bigotry. Hence he audaciously

to him the cause and interests of the House of *Austria*. See *Unschuldige Nachrict, A.* 1747. p. 858. ☞ What Dr. Mosheim observes here may be true; but then it is as true that Matthew Hoe must have been a great fool, or a great knave, to listen to such insinuations, not only on account of their glaring absurdity, but also considering the persons from whom they came. This is the same Hoe that is mentioned above as a learned defender of the Lutheran faith.

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daciously carried his arms through a great part of *Germany*, suffered his generals to vex with impunity, those princes and states which refused a blind obedience to the court of *Rome*, and shewed plainly, by all his proceedings, that a scheme had been laid for the extinction of the Germanic liberty, civil and sacred. The elector of *Saxony's* zealous attachment to the emperor, which he had abundantly discovered by his warm and ungenerous opposition to the unfortunate Frederick, together with the lamentable discord that reigned among the German princes, persuaded the papal faction, that the difficulties which seemed to oppose the execution of their project, were far from being invincible. Accordingly, the persons concerned in this grand enterprize began to act their respective parts. In the year 1629, Ferdinand II. to give some colour of justice to this religious war, issued out the terrible *restitution-edict*, by which the Protestants were ordered to restore to the church of *Rome* all the possessions they had become masters of in consequence of the *religious peace*, concluded in the preceding century [*t*]. This edict was principally owing to the suggestions of the Jesuits. That greedy and ambitious Order claimed a great part of these goods and possessions as a recompence due to their labours in the cause of religion; and hence arose a warm contest between them and the ancient and real proprietors [*u*]. This contest indeed was decided by the law of force. It was the depopulating soldier, who, sword in hand, gave weight and authority to the imperial edict, wresting out of the hands

[*t*] See for an illustration of this matter, the authors mentioned by Struvius, in his *Syntagma Histor. Germaniæ*, p. 1553.

[*u*] See Chris. Ang. Salig, *Histor. August. Confessionis*, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. sect. xxv. p. 810.

hands of the lawful possessor, without form of process, whatever the Romish priests and monks thought proper to claim, and treating the innocent and plundered sufferers with all the severity that the most barbarous spirit of oppression and injustice could suggest [*v*].

Gustavus Adolphus intervenes.

VI. *Germany* groaned under these dismal scenes of tumult and oppression, and looked about for succour in vain. The enemy encompassed her on all sides, and none of her princes seemed qualified to stand forth as the avenger of her injuries, or the assertor of her rights. Some were restrained from appearing in her cause by the suggestions of bigotry, others by a principle of fear, and others again by an ungenerous attention to their own private interest, which choked in their breasts all concern for the public good. An illustrious hero, whose deeds even envy was obliged to revere, and whose name will descend with glory to the latest ages, came forth, nevertheless, at this critical season; Gustavus Adolphus took the field, and maintained the cause of the Germanic liberties against the oppression and tyranny

The conclusion of the thirty years.

☞ [*v*] When the consequences of these iniquitous and barbarous proceedings were represented to this Emperor, and he was assured that the country must be utterly ruined, in case the Bohemians, rendered desperate by his enormous cruelty and oppression, should exert themselves in defence of their liberties, and endeavour to repel force by force; he is reported to have answered, with great zeal and calmness, *Malumus regnum vastatum, quam damnatum.* See the *Historia Persecutionum Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ*, &c. p. 152, a work published (probably in *Holland*, as would seem by the type) in the year 1648, in 24to. This little book contains an ample recital of the deplorable effects of lawless power, in human bigotry and blood-thirsty zeal; and proves, by numberless facts, that Dr. Mosheim had the strongest evidences for the account he gives of Ferdinand and his missionaries. It is impossible to reflect upon the sanguinary manner of such converters, without expressing, at the same time a generous detestation and abhorrence of their unjust and violent proceedings. N.

tyranny of the house of *Austria*. At the earnest request of the French court, which beheld, with uneasiness, the overgrown power of that aspiring house, he set sail for *Germany*, in the year 1629, with a small army; and, by his repeated victories, blasted, in a short time, the sanguine hopes which the pope and emperor had entertained of suppressing the Protestant religion in the empire. These hopes, indeed, seemed to revive in the year 1632, when this glorious assertor of Germanic liberty fell in the battle of *Lutzan* [*w*]; but this unspeakable loss was, in some measure, made up in process of time, by the conduct of those who succeeded Gustavus at the head of the Swedish army. And, accordingly, the war was obstinately carried on in bleeding *Germany*, during many years, with various success, until the exhausted treasures of the contending parties, and the pacific inclinations of Christina, the daughter and successor of Gustavus, put an end to these desolations, and brought on a treaty of peace.

The peace of Westphalia.

VII. Thus, after a war of thirty years, carried on with the most unrelenting animosity and ardour, the wounds of *Germany* were closed and the drooping states of *Europe* were revived, in the year 1648, by the peace of *Westphalia*, so called from the cities of *Munster* and *Osnaburg*, where the negociations were held, and that famous treaty concluded. The Protestants, indeed, did not derive from this treaty all the privileges they claimed, nor all the advantages they had in view; for

[*w*] See Arckenholtz, *Memoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. i. p. 7—20. in which there are many very interesting anecdotes relating to the life, exploits, and death of Gustavus. The learned compiler of these *Memoirs* has also thrown much light upon this period, and of the peace that terminated this long and dreadful war.

for the emperor, among other less important instances of obstinacy, absolutely refused to reinstate the Bohemian and Austrian Protestants in their religious privileges, or to restore the *Upper Palatinate* to its ancient and lawful proprietor. But they, nevertheless, obtained by this peace, privileges and advantages which the votaries of *Rome* beheld with much displeasure and uneasiness; and it is unquestionably evident, that the treaty of *Westphalia* gave a new and remarkable degree of stability to the Lutheran and Reformed churches in *Germany*. By this treaty the peace of *Augsburg*, which the Lutherans had obtained from Charles V. in the preceding century, was firmly secured against all the machinations and stratagems of the court of *Rome*; by it the *Restitution-edict*, which commanded the Protestants to restore to the Romish church the ecclesiastical revenues and lands they had taken possession of after that peace, was abrogated, and both the contending parties confirmed in the perpetual and uninterrupted possession of whatever they had occupied in the beginning of the year 1624. It would be entering into a very long detail, were we to enumerate the advantages that accrued to the Protestant princes from this treaty [*x*]. All this was

 a source

[*x*] An account of this whole matter, sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the most inquisitive reader, may be found in that most elaborate and excellent work, compiled by the very learned and judicious John Godfrey de Meyern, under the following title: *Acta Pacis Westphalicæ et Executionis ejus Norimbergensis.* See also the more compendious, though valuable work of Adami, bishop of *Hierapolis*, entitled, *Relatio Historica de Pacificatione Osnabrugo Monasteriensi*; of which the illustrious author published a new edition at *Leipsick*, in the year 1737, more accurate and ample than the preceding one. We must not omit here the ingenious Father Bougeant's elegant history of this treaty, which though chiefly drawn from the papers of the French ambassadors, is, nevertheless, generally speaking, composed with accuracy, impartiality and candour; it was published at *Paris*, in the year 1746, in six volumes in 8vo, under the title of *Histoire de la Paix de Westphalie.*

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a source of vexation to the court of *Rome*, and made its pontiff feel the severest pangs of disappointed ambition. He, accordingly, used various stratagems, without being very scrupulous in the choice, in order to annul this treaty, or elude its effects; but his attempts were unsuccessful, since neither the emperor, nor the princes that had embarked in this cause, thought it adviseable to involve themselves anew in the tumults of war, whose issue is so uncertain, and whose most fatal effects they had lately escaped with so much difficulty. The treaty, therefore, was executed in all its parts; and all the articles that had been agreed upon at *Munster* and *Osnaburg* were confirmed and ratified, in the year 1650, at *Nuremburg* [*y*].

The Protestants vexed and persecuted by Rome and its votaries.

VIII. After this period, the Court of *Rome* and its creatures were laid under a considerable degree of restraint. They did not any longer dare to make war in an open and public manner upon the Protestants, since the present state of things blasted all the hopes they had fondly entertained of extinguishing the light of the reformation, by destroying, or reducing under their ghostly yoke the princes and states that had encouraged and protected it in their territories. But wherever they could exert the spirit of persecution with impunity, there they oppressed the Protestants in the most grievous manner, and in defiance of the most solemn conventions, and of the most sacred obligations, encroached upon their rights, privileges, and possessions. Thus in *Hungary*, during

[*y*] Pope Innocent X. opposed to this treaty of peace, in the year 1651, a flaming *Bull;* on which Hornbeck published at *Utrecht*, in 1652, an ample and learned commentary, entitled, *Examen Bullæ Papalis, qua Innocentius X. abrogare nitiur Pacem Germaniæ.* This *Bull* might, perhaps, have produced some effect upon the Emperor and his allies, had it been properly *gilded.*

ing the space of ten years [z], both Lutherans and Calvinists were involved in an uninterrupted series of the most cruel calamities and vexations [a]. The injuries and insults they suffered at the hands of many orders of men, and more especially of the Jesuits, both before and after the period now under consideration, are not to be numbered. In *Poland*, all those who ventured to differ from the Pope, found by a bitter experience, during the whole course of this century, that no treaty or convention that tended to set bounds to the authority or rapacity of the church, was held sacred, or even regarded at *Rome*. For many of these were ejected out of their schools, deprived of their churches, robbed of their goods and possessions under a variety of perfidious pretexts; nay, frequently condemned to the most severe and cruel punishments, without having been even chargeable with the appearance of a crime [b]. The remains of the Waldenses, that lived in the vallies of *Piedmont*, were persecuted often with the most inhuman cruelty (and more especially in the years 1632, 1655, and 1685,) on account of their magnanimous and stedfast attachment to the religion of their ancestors; and this persecution was carried on with all the horrors of fire and sword by the Dukes of *Savoy* [c].

[z] From 1671 to 1681.

[a] See *Historia Diplomatica de Statu Religionis Evangelicæ in Hungaria*, p. 69. Pauli Debrezeni *Historia Ecclesiæ Reformata in Hungaria*, lib. ii. p. 447.—Schelhornius, *in Museo Helvetico*, tom. vii. p. 46—90.

[b] See Ad. Regenvolschii *Historia Ecclesiæ Sclavoniæ*, lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 216, 235, 253.—The grievances which the *Dissenters* from the Church of *Rome* suffered in *Poland* after Regenvolcius, may be learned from various *Memorials* that have been published in our times.

[c] See Gilles *Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Vaudoises*, published at *Geneva* in 4to, in the year 1656, chap. xlviii. p. 339.

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In *Germany*, the same spirit of bigotry and persecution produced almost every where flagrant acts of injustice. The infractions of the famous treaty above mentioned, and of the Germanic liberty that was founded upon it, would furnish matter for many volumes [*d*]; and all these infractions were owing to a preposterous and extravagant zeal for augmenting the authority, and extending the jurisdiction of the Church of *Rome*. And, indeed, as long as that church and its assuming pontiff shall persist in maintaining that they have a right to extend their lordly sceptre over all the churches of the Christian world, so long must those who have renounced their authority, but are more or less within their reach, despair of enjoying the inestimable blessings of security and peace. They will always be considered as rebellious subjects, against whom the greatest acts of severity and violence are lawful.

The Moors banished out of Spain, and the Protestants persecuted in France.

IX. The zealous instruments of the Court of *Rome* accomplished, at length, in this century, what had often been attempted without success, by delivering *Spain* from the infidelity of the Moors, and *France* from the heresy of the Protestants. The posterity of the Moors or Saracens, who had formerly been masters of a great part of *Spain*, had hitherto lived in that kingdom mixed with the other inhabitants of the country, and their number was still considerable. They were Christians, at least in their external profession and manners; industrious also, and inoffensive; and upon the whole good and useful subjects: But they were grossly suspected of a secret propensity to the doctrine of Mahomet, which was the religion

[*d*] The *histories* of the grievances suffered by the Protestants of *Germany* on account of their religion, that have been composed by Struvius and Hoffman, contain ample details of this matter.

gion of their ancestors. Hence the clergy beset the monarch with their importunate solicitations, and never ceased their clamorous remonstrances before a royal edict was obtained to drive the Saracens, whose numbers were prodigious, out of the Spanish territories. This imprudent step was highly detrimental to the kingdom of *Spain*, and its pernicious effects are more or less visible even at the present times; but the church, whose interests and dominion are, in popish countries, considered as distinct from the interests and authority of the state, and of a much more sublime and excellent nature, acquired new accessions of wealth and power by the expulsion of the Moors [*e*]. In proportion as the community lost, the Church gained; and thus the public good was sacrificed to the demands of bigotry and superstition.

In *France*, the persecuting spirit of the Church of *Rome* exhibited scenes still more shocking. The protestants of that kingdom, commonly called *Huguenots*, after having groaned, for a long space of time, under various forms of cruelty, and oppression, and seen multitudes of their brethren put to death, by secret conspiracies or open tyranny and violence, were, at length, obliged either to save themselves by a clandestine flight, or to profess against their consciences, the Romish religion. This barbarous and iniquitous scene of French persecution, than which the annals of modern history present nothing more unnatural and odious, will find its place below, in the history of the Reformed Church [*f*].

X. All the resources of inventive genius and refined policy, all the efforts of insinuating craft and audacious rebellion, were employed to bring back

The court of Rome fails in its attempts upon England.

[*e*] See Michael Geddes' *History of the expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 59.

[*f*] In the second chapter of the second part of this section.

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back *Great Britain* and *Ireland* under the yoke of *Rome*. But all these attempts were without effect. About the beginning of this century, a set of desperate and execrable wretches, in whose breasts the suggestions of bigotry and the hatred of the Protestant religion had suppressed all the feelings of justice and humanity, were instigated by three Jesuits, of whom Garnet, the superior of the society in *England*, was the chief, to form the most horrid plot that is known in the annals of history. The design of this conspiracy was nothing less than to destroy, at one blow, James I. the Prince of *Wales*, and both Houses of Parliament, by the explosion of an immense quantity of gunpowder, which was concealed for that purpose, in the vaults that lay under the House of Lords. The sanguinary bigots concerned in it imagined, that, as soon as this horrible deed was performed, they would be at full liberty to restore Popery to its former credit, and substitute it in the place of the Protestant religion [*g*]. This odious conspiracy, whose infernal purpose was providentially discovered, when it was ripe for execution, is commonly known in *Britain* under the denomination of the *gun-powder treason* [*h*].

This discovery did not suspend the efforts and stratagems of the Court of *Rome*, which carried on

[*g*] There is a letter extant, written by Sir Everard Digby, one of the conspirators, to his wife, after his condemnation, which deserves an eminent place in the history of superstition and bigotry, and shews abundantly their infernal spirit and tendency. The following passage will confirm this judgment; "*Now for my intention*, says Digby, *let me tell you, that if I* "*had thought there had been the least sin in the plot, I would* "*not have been of it for all the world; and no other cause drew* "*me to hazard my fortune and life but zeal to God's religion.*" See the *Papers* relating to the Popish plot, published by the orders of Secretary Coventry.

[*h*] See Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, livr. xviii. tom. vii. p. 40.—Jo. Henr. Heideggeri *Historia papatus* Period. sect. vii. p. 211. 291, &c.

on its schemes in the succeeding reign, but with less violence, and more caution. Charles I. was a prince of a soft and gentle temper, and was entirely directed by the councils of Laud, archbishop of *Canterbury*, a man who was neither destitute of learning nor good qualities [*i*], though he carried things to excessive and intolerable lengths, thro' his warm and violent attachment to the ancient rites and ceremonies of the church; the Queen, on the other hand, who was a princess of *France*, was warmly devoted to the interests of Popery; and from all this it seemed probable enough, that, though treason and violence had failed, yet artifice and mild measures might succeed, and that a reconciliation might be brought about between *England* and *Rome* [*j*]. This prospect which had smiled in the imaginations of the friends of popery, vanished entirely when the civil war broke out between the King and Parliament. In consequence of these commotions, both the unfortunate Charles, and his imprudent and bigotted counsellor Laud were brought to the scaffold; and Oliver Cromwell, a man of unparalleled resolution, dexterity, and foresight, and a declared enemy to every thing that bore even the most distant resemblance of popery, was placed at the helm of government, under the title of Protector of the commonwealth of *England*.

The hopes of *Rome* and its votaries were nevertheless revived by the restoration of Charles II. and from that period grew more lively and

☞ [*i*] Mr. Hume, speaking of Laud's learning and morals expresses himself in the following manner: "This man was "virtuous, if severity of manners alone, and abstinence from "pleasure could deserve that name. He was learned, if pole-"mical knowledge could entitle him to that praise." See Hume's *History of Great Britain*, vol. v. p. 193.

[*j*] See Urban Cerri, *Etat Present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 315.—Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 194.

sanguine from day to day. For that monarch, as appears from unquestionable authorities [*k*], had been initiated, during his exile, into the mysteries of popery, and had secretly embraced that religion, while his only brother, the presumptive heir to the crown, professed it openly, and had publicly apostatized from the Protestant faith. Charles, indeed, was not a proper instrument for the propagation of any theological system. Indolent and voluptuous on the one hand, and inclined to infidelity and irreligion on the other, it was not from him that the Roman pontiff could expect that zeal and industry, that were necessary to force upon the English nation a religion so contrary to the tenor of the laws and the spirit of the people as popery was [*l*]. This zeal was founded

[*k*] Burnet's *History of his Own Times,* vol. i. book iii. p. 603, 606.—Neal's *History of the Puritans,* vol. iv. p. 233, 237, 524.—Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire de l'Angleterre,* livr. xxiii. vol. ix. p. 160.

☞ [*l*] Such is the representation given of Charles II. by all historians; so that Dr. Mosheim is excusable in mistaking a part of this monarch's character, which was known to very few before him. Mr. Hume, whose history of the reign of that prince is a master-piece in every respect, gave a like account of Charles, as fluctuating between Deism and Popery. But this eminent historian having had occasion, during his residence at *Paris,* to peruse the manuscript-memoirs of King James II. which were written by himself, and are kept in the Scot's College there, received from them new information with respect to the religious character of Charles; and was convinced that his zeal for Popery went much farther than has been generally imagined. For it appears, with the utmost evidence, from these memoirs, that the King had laid with his ministry a formal plan for subverting the constitution in favour of Popery; that the introduction of Popery, as the established religion, was the great and principal object which Charles had in view when he entered into the French alliance, which was concluded at *Versailles* in the end of 1669, or beginning of 1670, by Lord Arundel of *Wardour.* By this treaty, Lewis was to give Charles 200,000 pounds a-year, in quarterly payments, in order to enable him to establish the Roman Catholic religion in *England;* and to supply him

founded in his bigotted successor James II; but it was accompanied with such excessive vehemence and imprudence as entirely defeated its own purposes; for that inconsiderate monarch, by his passionate attachment to the court of *Rome*, and his blind obsequiousness to the unseasonable and precipitate counsels of the Jesuits, who were the oracles of his cabinet, gave a mortal blow to that religion which he meant to promote, and fell from the throne whose prerogatives he was attempting to augment and extend. Immediately on his accession to the crown, he openly attempted to restore to its former vigour, both in *England* and *Ireland*, the authority of the Roman pontiff, which had been renounced and annulled by the laws of both realms; and that he might accomplish with the more facility this most imprudent purpose, he trampled upon those rights and privileges of his people, that had ever been held most respectable and sacred, and which he had bound himself, by the most solemn engagements, to support and maintain. Justly exasperated and provoked by repeated insults from the throne upon their religion and liberties, and alarmed with natural apprehensions of the approaching ruin of both; the English nation looked about for a deliverer, and fixed its views, in the year 1688, on William prince of *Orange*, son-in-law to their despotic monarch,

him also with 6000 men in case of any insurrection. The division of the United Provinces between *England* and *France* was another article of this treaty. But we are told that the subversion of the Protestant religion in *England* was the point that Charles had chiefly at heart; and that he insisted warmly on beginning with the execution of this part of the treaty; but the Duchess of *Orleans*, in the interview at *Dover*, persuaded him to begin with the Dutch war. The King (says Mr. Hume) was so *zealous a Papist*, that he *wept for joy* when he entertained the project of re-uniting his kingdom to the Catholic Church. See the *Corrections and Additions* to Mr. Hume's *history of Charles* II. p. 238. in the note.

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monarch, by whose wisdom and valour, things were so conducted, that James was obliged to retire from his dominions, and to abdicate the crown; and the Roman pontiff, with all his adherents, were disappointed in the fond expectations they had formed of restoring popery in *England* [*m*].

Milder methods are employed by Rome, against the Protestant cause.

XI. When the more prudent defenders and patrons of the Romish faith perceived the ill success that attended all their violent and sanguinary attempts to establish its authority, they thought it expedient to have recourse to softer methods; and, instead of conquering the Protestants by open force, proposed deluding them back into the church of *Rome* by the insinuating influence of secret artifice. This way of proceeding was approved by many of the votaries of *Rome*, but they were not all agreed about the particular manner of employing it, and therefore followed different methods. Some had recourse to the appointment of public disputations or conferences between the principal doctors of the contending parties; and this from a notion, which past experience had rendered so vain and chimerical, that the adversaries of popery would either be vanquished in the debate, or at least be persuaded to look upon the Roman-catholics with less aversion and disgust. Others declared it as their opinion, that all contest was to be suspended; that the great point was to find out the proper method of reconciling the two churches; and that, in order to promote this salutary purpose, as little stress as possible was to be laid upon those matters

[*m*] The circumstances of this famous and ever-memorable revolution are accurately recorded by Burnet, in the second volume of his *History of his Own Times*; and also by Rapin, in the tenth volume of his *History of England*. Add to these, Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. ch. xi. p. 536.

matters of controversy that had been hitherto looked upon as of the highest moment and importance. A different manner of proceeding was thought more adviseable by a third set of men, who, from a persuasion that their doctors had more zeal than argument, and were much more eminent for their attachment to the church of *Rome*, than for their skill in defending its cause, prepared their combatants with greater care for the field of controversy, taught them a new art of theological war, furnished them with a new and subtle method of vanquishing, or at least of perplexing, their heretical adversaries.

Theological conferences held between the doctors of both churches.

XII. There was a famous conference held at *Ratisbon*, in the year 1601, at the joint desire of Maximilian, duke of *Bavaria*, and Philip Lewis, elector *Palatine*, between some eminent Lutheran doctors on the one side, and three celebrated Jesuits on the other. The dispute turned upon the two great points, to which almost all the contests between the Protestants and Roman catholics are reducible, even the *rule of faith* and the *judge of controversies*. In the year 1615, a conference was held at *Newburg*, between James Heilbronner, a learned Lutheran, and James Keller, a celebrated Jesuit, by the appointment of Wolfgang William, prince *Palatine*, who had a little before that time embraced the Romish faith. But the most famous of all these conferences was that held in the year 1645, at *Thorn*, by the express order of Uladislaus IV. king of *Poland*, between several eminent doctors of the Romish, Lutheran, and Reformed churches. This meeting which was designed to heal the division that reigned among these churches, and to find out some method of reconciling their differences, and bringing about their re-union, was thence called the *Charitable Conference*. Some time after this, Ernest, Landgrave of *Hesse*, in order to give a plausible

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sible colour to his apostasy, from the Protestant religion, and make it appear to be the result of examination and conviction, obliged Valerianus Magnus, a learned Capuchin, to enter the lists with Peter Habercorn, a reformed minister in the castle of *Rheinfeldt*. Besides these public conferences, there were others of a more private nature held during this century, between the doctors of the contending churches. The most remarkable of these was the famous dispute between John Claude, the most learned of the Reformed divines in *France*, and Jaques Benigne de Bossuet, whose genius and erudition placed him at the head of the Romish doctors in that country. This dispute which was held in the year 1683, ended like all the rest. They all widened the breach instead of healing it. Neither of the contending parties could be persuaded to yield [*n*]; on the contrary, they both returned from the field of controversy more rivetted in their own opinions, and more averse to those of their adversaries.

The methods of reconciliation employed by the Roman Catholics.

XIII. Those of the Roman-Catholics, whose views were turned towards union and concord, did not omit the use of *pious* artifice and stratagem in order to accomplish this salutary purpose. They endeavoured to persuade the zealous Protestants and the rigid Catholics, that their differences

[*n*] The reader who desires a more particular account of what passed in these conferences, may satisfy his curiosity by consulting the writers mentioned by Sagittarius, in his *Introduc. in Historiam Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 1569. 1581. 1592. 1598. An account of the conference between Claude and Bossuet was composed and published by each of these famous combatants. Bossuet's account was thus entitled; *Conference avec* M. Claude *sur la matiere de l'Eglise, Paris* 1683, in 12mo. This account was answered by Claude, in his *Reponse au Livre de* M. De Meaux, *intitula, conference avec* M. Claude, published at the *Hague*, in 8vo, in the year 1683.

ences in opinion were less considerable, and less important, than they themselves imagined; and that the true way to put an end to their dissensions, and to promote their union, was not to nourish the flames of discord by disputes and conferences, but to see whether their systems might not be reconciled, and their apparent inconsistencies removed, by proper and candid explications. They imagined that an artful exposition of those doctrines of the church of *Rome*, that appeared the most shocking to the Protestants, would tend much to conquer their aversion to Popery. Such was the general principle in which the Romish peace-makers agreed, and such the basis on which they proposed to carry on their pacific operations; but they differed so widely in their manner of applying this general principle, and pursued such different methods in the execution of this nice and perilous stratagem, that the event did not answer their expectations. In the way they proceeded, instead of promoting the desired union by their representations of things, by their exhortations and councils, this union seemed to be previously necessary, in order to render their explications and exhortations acceptable, nay, even supportable; so little were the means proportioned to the end!

The first and most eminent of those who tried the force of their genius in this arduous enterprise was Cardinal Richelieu, that great minister, who employed all the influence of promises and threatenings, all the powers of sophistry and eloquence, all the arts of persuasion, in order to bring back the French Protestants into the bosom of the Romish church [o]. The example of this illustrious

[o] Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. i. p. 31, 42. new edit.—Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Amyraut*, note 1; at the article *Beaulieu*, note [c]; at the article *Ferry*, note [d]; at the article *Millitiere*.

illustrious prelate was followed with less dignity and less influence, by Massenius, a German Jesuit [*p*], Volusius, a theologist of *Mentz* [*q*], Prætorius, a Prussian [*r*], Gibbon de Burg, an Irish doctor, who was professor at *Erfurth* [*s*], Marcellus, a Jesuit [*t*], and other divines of inferior note. But of all modern adepts in controversy, none pursued this method with such dexterity and art as Bossuet, bishop of *Meaux*, a man of true genius, directed by the most consummate circumspection and prudence. The famous *Exposition of the Roman-Catholic Faith*, that was drawn up by this subtile and insinuating author, was designed to shew the Protestants, that their reasons against returning to the bosom of the Romish church would be soon and easily removed, provided they would view the doctrines of that church in their true light, and not as they had been erroneously represented by the Protestant writers [*u*]. This notion was propagated, though with

[*p*] See Frid. Spanheimii *Stricture ad* Bossueti *Expositionem Fidei Catholicæ*, tom. iii. opp. *Theolog.* par. II. p. 1042.

[*q*] There is extant a book composed by this writer under the following title: *Aurora Pacis religiosæ divinæ Veritati amica Mogunt.* 1665. 4to.

[*r*] In his *Tuba Pacis*, of which the reader may see a curious account in Bayle's *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for the year 1685, p. 1309.

[*s*] In a treatise, entitled, *Luthero Calvinismus schismaticus quidem sed reconciliabilis.*

[*t*] The book of Marcellus, entitled *Sapientia pacifica*, was refuted by Seldius, at the express desire of the Duke of *Saxe-Gotha.*

[*u*] This book might furnish subject for a multitude of reflections. See a particular account of its history and its effects in Pfaff's *Historia Literaria Theologiæ*, tom. ii. p. 102; and Le Clerc's *Bibliotheque Universelle et Historique*, tom. xi. p. 438. ☞ It is remarkable, that nine years passed before this book could obtain the Pope's approbation. Clement X. refused it positively. Nay, several Roman Catholic priests were rigorously treated, and severely persecuted, for preaching the doctrine contained in the exposition of Bossuet, which was, moreover,

with less dexterity and success, by Dezius, a Jesuit of *Strasburg*, who wrote a book expressly to prove, that there was little or no difference between the doctrine of the council of *Trent*, and that of the confession of *Augsburg*, than which no two systems can be more irreconcilably opposite [*w*]. It is, however, remarkable, that all these pacific attempts to re-unite the two churches, were made by the persons now mentioned, on their

moreover, formerly condemned by the University of *Louvain*, in the year 1685, and declared to be *scandalous* and *pernicious*. The Sorbonne also disavowed the doctrine contained in that book, though by a late edict we learn, that the fathers of that theological seminary have changed their opinions on that head, and thus given a new instance of the *variations* that reign in the Romish Church, which boasts so much of its uniformity in doctrinal matters. The artifice that was employed in the composition of this book, and the tricks that were used in the suppression and alteration of the first edition that was given of it, have been detected with great sagacity and evidence by the learned and excellent Archbishop Wake, in the *Introduction* to his *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, &c.* See also his two *Defences* of that *Exposition*, in which the perfidious sophistry of Bossuet is unmasked and refuted in the most satisfactory manner. There was an excellent answer to Bossuet's book published by M. De La Bastide, one of the most eminent protestant ministers in France. This answer the French prelate took no notice of during eight years; at the end of which, he published an advertisement, in a new edition of his *Exposition*, which was designed to remove the objections of La Bastide. The latter replied in such a demonstrative and victorious manner, that the learned bishop, notwithstanding all his eloquence and art, was obliged to quit the field of controversy. See a very interesting account of this insidious work of Bossuet, and the controversies it occasioned, in the *Bibliotheque des Sciences*, published at the *Hague*, vol. xviii. p. 20. This account which is curious, accurate, ample, and learned, was given partly on occasion of a new edition of the *Exposition*, printed at *Paris*, 1761, and accompanied with a Latin translation done by Fleury, and partly on occasion of Burigny's *Life of Bossuet*, published the same year at *Paris*.

[*w*] This book is entitled, *La Re-union des Protestans de Strasburg a l'Eglise Romaine*, published in 8vo at *Strasburg* in the year 1689—See Phil. Jac. Speneri *Consilia Theol. Germ.* pars iii. p. 650. 662.

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their own private authority; they were not avowed by the higher powers, who alone were qualified to remove, modify, or explain away those doctrines and rites of the Romish church that shocked the Protestants and justified their separation. It is true, indeed, that in the year 1686, this plan of reconciliation was warmly recommended by a person properly commissioned, or, at least, who gave himself out for such. This pacificator was Christopher de Rohas, bishop of *Tinia*, in the district of *Bosnia;* who, during several years, frequented with these reconciling views, the courts of the Protestant princes in *Germany:* intimated the assembling of a new council, that was to be more impartial in its decisions and less restrained in its proceedings, than the council of *Trent;* nay, went still further, and assured the Protestants, that they should obtain without difficulty whatever rights, privileges, and immunities, they should think proper to demand from the Roman pontiff, provided they would acknowledge his paternal authority, and no longer refuse a profound submission to his mild and gentle empire. But the artifice and designs of this specious missionary were easily detected; the Protestant doctors, and also their sovereigns, soon perceived that a fair and candid plan of reconciliation and union was not what the court of *Rome* had in view; but that a scheme was laid for restoring its pontiffs to their former despotic dominion over the Christian world [*x*].

XIV. The

[*x*] See Jo. Wolf. Jaegeri *Historia Ecclesiast. Sæculi* xvii. —Christ. Eberhardi Weismanni *Hist. Ecclesiast. Sæculi* xvii. p. 735. The reader will find in the *Commercium Epistolico-Leibnitianum of* Gruberus *, an account of the particular conditions of reconciliation that were proposed, in the year 1660, to the German courts by the Elector of *Mentz*, authorised, as it is alleged, by the Roman pontiff.

* Tom. i. p. 411, 415, 426.

Protestant peace-makers.

XIV. The Romish peace-makers found among the Protestants, and more especially among those of the *Reformed* church, certain doctors, who, by a natural propensity to union and concord, seconded perhaps, in some, by views of interest, or by the suggestions of ambition, were disposed to enter into their plan, and to assist them in the execution of it. These doctors maintained, that the points in debate between the two churches were not of sufficient importance to justify their separation. Among the French Protestants, Lewis le Blanc and his disciples were suspected of an inclination to go too great lengths in this matter [*y*]. The same accusation was brought, with fuller evidence, against Huisseaux, professor of divinity at *Saumer*, Milletiere, Le Fevre, and others of less note [*z*]. Among the British divines, this excessive propensity to diminish the shocking absurdities of Popery was less remarkable; William Forbes was the principal person who discovered an extreme facility to compose a considerable number of the differences that contributed to perpetuate the separation between the two churches [*a*]. With respect to the Dutch, it is abundantly

[*y*] See a particular and interesting account of Le Blanc in Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Beaulieu*.

[*z*] See the above-mentioned *Dictionary* at the article *Milletiere*. For an account of Huisseaux, and his pacific counsels, see Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iii. p. 14.—Aymon, *Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformees en France*, tom. ii. p. 765. The labours of Le Fevre, father to the famous Madam Dacier, in the same cause, are mentioned by Morhofius, in his *Polyhistor*, tom. i. p. 295.

[*a*] See Forbes' "Considerationes modestæ et pacificæ Controversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio," &c. which were published in 8vo at *London*, in the year 1658, and afterwards more correctly in *Germany*, under the inspection of John Fabricius, professor of divinity at *Helmstadt*. Forbes is mentioned by Grabe with the highest encomiums, in his "Notæ ad Bulli Harmoniam Apostolicam, p. 19. and, if we consider his probity, and the exemplary regularity of his life and conversation, he must

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abundantly known, how ardently the great and learned Grotius desired the re-union of all Christian churches in one general bond of charity and concord, and with what peculiar zeal he endeavoured to reform some enormities of the church of *Rome*, and to excuse others. But these and all the other arbitrators, whose names and whose efforts in this pacific cause it would be tedious to mention, derived no other fruit from their, perhaps, well-intended labours, than the displeasure of both the contending parties, and the bitter reproaches of their respective churches.

In the number of the Protestant doctors who discovered an inconsiderate zeal for the re-union of these churches, many writers placed George Calixtus, a man of eminent learning, and professor of divinity in the university of *Helmstadt*. It is nevertheless certain, that this great man discovered and exposed the errors and corruptions of Popery with a degree of learning and perspicuity that was scarcely surpassed by any writer of this century, and persisted stedfastly in maintaining, that the decrees and anathemas of the council of *Trent* had banished all hopes of a reconciliation between the protestant churches and the see of *Rome*. It is true, indeed, that Calixtus looked upon some of the controversies that divided the two communions with much more moderation and indulgence than was usual, and decided them in

must be allowed to deserve the praise that is due to piety and good morals. Nevertheless, he had his infirmities, and the wiser part of the English doctors acknowledge, that his propensity towards a reconciliation with the church of *Rome* was carried too far. See Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 21.—On this account he has been lavishly praised by the Roman Catholic writers; See R. Simon, *Lettres Chosies*, tom. iii. lettr. xvii. p. 119.—He was undoubtedly one of those who contributed most to spread among the English a notion (whose truth or falsehood we shall not here examine), that king Charles I. and Archbishop Laud had formed the design of restoring Popery in *England*.

in a manner that did not seem suited to the taste and spirit of the times: he was also of opinion, that the church of *Rome* had not destroyed the genuine principles of Christianity, but had only deformed them with its senseless fictions, and buried them under a heap of rubbish, under a motley multitude of the most extravagant and intolerable doctrines and ceremonies. It was undoubtedly on this account, that he has been ranked by some in the class of the imprudent peace-makers already mentioned.

The Popish Methodists.

XV. It was no difficult matter to defeat the purposes, and ruin the credit of these pacific arbitrators, who, upon the whole, made up but a motley and ill-composed society, weakened by intestine discords. It required more dexterity, and greater efforts of genius, to oppose the progress, and disconcert the sophistry of a set of men who had invented new methods of defending Popery, and attacking its adversaries. This new species of polemic doctors were called *Methodists*, and the most eminent of them arose in *France*, where a perpetual scene of controversy, carried on with the most learned among the *Huguenots* had augmented the dexterity, and improved the theological talents, of the Roman Catholic disputants. The *Methodists*, from their different manner of treating the controversy in question, may be divided into two classes. In the one we may place those doctors whose method of disputing with the Protestants was disingenuous and unreasonable, and who followed the examples of those military chiefs, who shut up their troops in entrenchments and strong holds, in order to cover them from the attacks of the enemy. Such was the manner of proceeding of the Jesuit Veron, who was of opinion that the Protestants should be obliged to prove the tenets of their church [*b*] by plain pas-

 sages

☞ [*b*] More especially the doctrines that peculiarly oppose the decrees and tenets of the council of *Trent*.

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sages of scripture, without being allowed the liberty of illustrating these passages, reasoning upon them, or drawing any conclusions from them [*c*]. In the same class may be ranked Nihusius, an apostate from the Protestant religion [*d*], the two Walenburgs, and other Polemics, who, looking upon it as an easier matter to maintain their pretensions, than to shew upon what principles they were originally founded [*e*], obliged their adversaries to prove all their assertions and objections, whether of an affirmative or negative kind; and confined themselves to the eager business of answering objections, and repelling attacks. We may also place among this kind of Methodists Cardinal Richelieu, who judged it the shortest and best way to attend little to the multitude of accusations, objections, and reproaches, with which the Protestants loaded all the various branches of the Romish government, discipline, doctrine, and worship; and to confine the whole controversy to the single article of the *divine institution* and *authority* of the Church, which he thought it essential to establish by the strongest arguments

[*c*] Musæus, "De Usu Principiorum Rationis in Controversiis Theologicis," lib. i. c. iv. p. 22.—G. Calixti "Digressio de Arte nova," p. 125.—"Simon, Lettres Choisies," tom. i. p. 276.

[*d*] See a particular account of this vain and superficial doctor in Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Nihusius*. His work, entitled, "Ars Nova dicto Sacræ Scripturæ unico lucrandi a Pontificiis plurimos in partes Lutheranorum detecta," &c. was refuted in the most satisfactory manner, by Calixtus, in his "Digressio in Arte Nova contra Nihusium," a curious and learned work, which was published * in 4to at *Helmstadt*, in 1634.

☞ [*e*] That is to say in other words, that they pleaded *prescription* in favour of Popery; and acted like one, who, having been for a long time in possession of an estate, refuses to produce his title, and requires that those who question it should prove its insufficiency or falsehood.

* This piece originally made a part of the "Theologia Moralis" of Calixtus, but was afterwards published separately.

arguments as the grand principle that would render Popery impregnable [*f*].

The *Methodists* of the second class, were of opinion that the most expedient manner of reducing the Protestants to silence, was not to attack them by piece-meal, but to overwhelm them at once, by the weight of some general principle or presumption, some universal argument, which comprehended, or might be applied to all the points contested between the two churches. They imitated the conduct of those military leaders, who, instead of spending their time and strength in sieges and skirmishes, endeavoured to put an end to the war by a general and decisive action. This method, if not invented [*g*], was at least improved and seconded by all the aids of eloquence and genius, by Nicolle, a celebrated doctor among the Jansenists [*h*]; and it was followed by many of the

 disputants

[*f*] For a more ample account of these methods of controversy, and of others used by the church of *Rome*, the curious reader may consult Fred. Spanheim, "Strictur. ad Expositionem Fidei Bossueti," tom. iii. opp. par. II. p. 1037.—Jo. Henr. Heidegger, "Histor. Papatus," Period. vii. sect. ccviii. p. 316.—Walchii "Introduct. ad Controvers. Theolog." tom. ii.—Weismanni "Histor. Ecclesiastica," Sæc. xvii. p. 726.

☞ [*g*] This method certainly was not the invention of Nicolle, for it seems to differ little, if at all, from the method of Cardinal Richelieu. We may observe further, that Richelieu seems rather to belong to the second class of Methodists than to the first, where Dr. Mosheim has placed him.

[*h*] Nicolle is supposed to be author of a book, entitled, "Prejuges legitimes contre les Calvinistes," which was first published at Paris in 1671, passed afterwards through several editions, and was answered in a satisfactory manner by several learned men. ☞ It is very remarkable, that some of the principal arguments employed in this book against the Protestants, are precisely the same that the Deists make use of to shew that it is impossible for the general body of Christians to believe upon a rational foundation. The learned Claude, in his "Defence of the Reformation," shewed, in a demonstrative manner, that the difficulties arising from the incapacity of the multitude

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disputants of the church of *Rome*, who were so fully persuaded of its irresistible influence, that they looked upon any one of the general points already mentioned as sufficient, when properly handled, to overturn the whole Protestant cause. Hence it was, that some of these Polemics rested the defence of Popery upon the single principle of *prescription;* others upon the vicious lives of several of those princes who had withdrawn their dominions from the yoke of *Rome;* others again, upon the criminal nature of religious *schism*, with which they reproached the promoters of the Reformation; and they were all convinced, that, by urging their respective arguments, and making good their respective charges, the mouths of their adversaries must be stopped, and the cause of *Rome* and its pontiff triumph [*i*]. The famous Bossuet stood foremost in this class, which he peculiarly adorned, by the superiority of his genius and the insinuating charms of his eloquence. His arguments, indeed, were more specious than solid, and the circumstances from which they were drawn were imprudently chosen. From the variety of opinions that take place among the Protestant doctors, and the changes that have happened in their discipline and doctrine, he endeavoured to demonstrate, that the church founded by Luther was not the true church; and, on the other hand, from the perpetual sameness and uniformity

examine the grounds and principles of the Protestant religion, are much less than those which occur to a Papist, whose faith is founded, not on the plain word of God alone, but on the dictates of tradition, on the decrees of councils, and a variety of antiquated records that are beyond his reach. The Protestant divine goes still farther, and proves that there are arguments in favour of Christianity and the Protestant faith, that are intelligible by the lowest capacity; and at the same time, sufficient to satisfy an upright and unprejudiced mind.

[*i*] Frid. Spanhemii "Diss. de Prescriptione, in Rebus Fidei adversus novos Methodistas," tom. iii. par. II. opp. p. 1079.

formity that reign in the tenets and worship of the church of *Rome*, he pretended to prove its divine original [*k*]. Such an argument must indeed surprise, coming from a man of learning, who could not be ignorant of the temporising spirit of the Roman pontiffs, nor of the changes they had permitted in their discipline and doctrine, according to the genius of time and place, and the different characters of those whom they were desirous to gain over to their interest. It was still more surprising in a French prelate, since the doctors of that nation generally maintain, that the leaden age does not differ more from the age of gold, than the modern church of *Rome* differs from the ancient and primitive church of that famous city.

[*k*] This is the purpose of Bossuet's "Histoire des Variation des Eglises Protestantes," which was published in 8vo at *Paris*, in the year 1688, and is still considered by the Roman Catholics as one of the strongest bulwarks of popery. Let them go on in their illusions, and boast of this famous champion and defender; but if they have any true zeal for the cause he defends, or any regard for the authority of the supreme head of *their* church, they will bury in oblivion that maxim of this *their* champion, that *the church, which he frequently modifies, varies, and changes its doctrines, is destitute of the direction of the Holy Spirit.* ☞ This observation of Dr. Mosheim's might be verified by numberless instances of variations in the doctrine and worship of *Rome*, that must strike every one who has any tolerable acquaintance with the history of that church. But, without going any farther than one single instance, we may observe that Bossuet had a striking proof of the variations of his own church, in the different reception that his *Exposition of the Roman Catholic faith* met with from different persons, and at different times. It was disapproved of by one Pope, and approved of by another; it was applauded by the Archbishop of *Rheims*, and condemned by the University of *Louvain*; it was censured by the Sorbonne in the year 1671, and declared by the same society a true exposition of the Catholic faith in the following century. For a full proof of the truth of these and other variations, see Wake's *Exposition*, &c.—Le Clerc, *Bibl. Univ.* tom. xi. p. 438, &c. —General Dictionary, at the article *Wake*, in the note, and *Biblioth. des Sciences*, &c. tom. xviii. p. 29. &c.

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Deserters from the Protestants to the Romish Church.

XVI. These various attempts of the votaries of *Rome*, though they gave abundant exercise to the activity and vigilance of the protestant doctors, were not, however, attended with any important revolutions, or any considerable fruits. Some princes, indeed, and a few learned men, were thereby seduced into the communion of that church, from whose superstition and tyranny their ancestors had delivered themselves and others; but these defections were only personal, nor was there any people or province either inclined or engaged to follow these examples. Among the more illustrious deserters of the Protestant religion, were Christina, queen of *Sweden* [*l*], a princess of great spirit and genius, but precipitate and vehement in almost all her proceedings, and preferring her ease, pleasure, and liberty, to all other considerations [*m*]; Wolfang William count *Palatine* of the *Rhine;* Christian William, marquis of *Brandenburg;* Ernest, prince of

[*l*] See Arkenholt, "Memoires de la Reine, Christine," which contains a variety of agreeable and interesting anecdotes.

☞ [*m*] The candid and impartial writer, mentioned in the preceding note, has given an ample account of the circumstances that attended this queen's change of religion, and of the causes that might have contributed to determine her to a step so unexpected and inexcusable. It was neither the subtilty of Des Cartes, nor the dexterity of Canut that brought about this event, as Baillet would persuade us. The true state of the case seems to have been this: Christina, having had her sentiments of religion in general considerably perverted by the licentious insinuations of her favourite Bourdelot, was by that means prepared for embracing any particular religion, that pleasure, interest, or ambition, should recommend to her. Upon this foundation, the Jesuits Macedo, Malines, and Cassati, under the immediate protection of Pimentel, and encouraged by the courts of *Rome*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, employed their labours and dexterity in the conversion of this princess, whose passion for *Italy*, together with that taste for the fine arts, and the precious remains of antiquity, that made her desirous of sojourning there, may have contributed not a little to make her embrace the religion of that country.

of *Hesse* [*n*]; John Frederick, duke of *Brunswick;* and Frederick Augustus, king of *Poland.*

The learned men that embraced the communion of the church of *Rome* were, Baron, Boineburg, secretary to the elector of *Mentz,* and an eminent patron of erudition and genius [*o*], Christopher, Ranzow, a knight of *Holstein* [*p*], Casper Scioppius, Petrus Bertius, Christopher Besold, Ulric Hunnius, Nicholas Stenon, a Danish physician, of great reputation in his profession, John Philip Pfeiffer, professor at *Konigsburg,* Lucas Holstenius, Petrus Lambechius, Henry Blumius, professor at *Helmstadt,* a man of learning, and of excessive vanity [*q*], Daniel Nesselius, Andrew Frommius, Barthold Nihusius, Christopher Hellwigius, Matthew

[*n*] This learned and well-meaning prince was engaged by the conversation and importunities of Valerius Magnus, a celebrated monk of the Capuchin Order, to embrace Popery, in the year 1651. See Gruberi *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum,* tom. i. 27, 35. *Memoires de la Reine* Christine, tom. i. p. 216.—It is however, to be observed, that this prince together with Anthony Ulric, Duke of *Brunswick,* and several others, who went over to the church of *Rome,* did not go over to *that* Church of *Rome* which is now exhibited to us in the odious forms of superstition and tyranny, but to another kind of church, which, perhaps, never existed but in their idea, and which at least has long ceased to exist. That this was the case appears evidently from the theological writings of Prince Ernest.

[*o*] This eminent man, who had more learning than philosophy, and who was more remarkable for the extent of his memory than for the rectitude of his judgment, followed the example of the Prince of *Hesse,* in the year 1653. See Gruberi *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum,* in which his Letters, and those of Conringius are published, tom. i. p. 35. 37, 39, 48, 56, 60, 70, 76, 93, &c.

[*p*] See Molleri *Cimbria Literata,* tom. i. p. 520.

[*q*] Blumius deserted from the Protestant Church in the year 1654.—See Burckardi *Historia Biblioth. Augustæ,* part III. p. 223, 233.—Gruberi *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum,* tom. i. p. 41, 95, 135, 137, 379, 388, 410. In these letters he is called *Florus,* probably in allusion to his German name *Blum,* which signifies a *flower.*

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thew Prætorius, and a few others of inferior rank in the learned world. But these conversions when considered with the motives that produced them, will be found, in *reality*, less honourable to the church of *Rome* than they are *in appearance*; for if in the list of princes and learned men above mentioned, we efface those whom the temptations of adversity, the impulse of avarice and ambition, the suggestions of levity, the effects of personal attachments, the power of superstition upon a feeble and irresolute mind, and other motives of like merit, engaged to embrace the Romish religion, these proselytes will be reduced to a number too small to excite the envy of the Protestant churches [*r*].

The Romish church-interest loses ground in the East.

XVII. The Christian churches in the East, which were independent on the yoke of *Rome*, did not stand less firm and stedfast against the attempts of the papal missionaries than those of *Europe*. The pompous accounts which several Roman catholic writers have given of the wonderful success of the missionaries among the *Nestorians* and *Monophysites*, are little else than splendid fables, designed to amuse and dazzle the multitude; and many of the wisest and best of the Roman-catholic doctors acknowledge, that they ought to be considered in no other light. As little credit is to be given to those who mention the strong propensity discovered by several of the heads and superintendants of the Christian sects in these remote regions, to submit to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff [*s*]. It is evident, on the contrary, that *Rome*, in two remarkable instances,

[*r*] See for a particular account of these proselytes to Popery, Weisman's *Historia Eccles.* Sæc. xvii. p. 738.—Walikius' *Introductio in Controversias*, tom. ii. p. 728.—Arnold's *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, par. p. 912. and other writers of civil and literary history.

[*s*] See the remarks made by Chardin in several places of the last edition of his travels. See also what Urban Cerri, in his

stances, suffered a considerable diminution of its influence and authority in the eastern world during this century. One of these instances was the dreadful revolution in *Japan*, which has been already related, and which was unhappily followed by the total extinction of Christianity in that great monarchy. The other was the downfal of Popery by the extirpation of its missionaries in the empire of *Abyssinia*, of which it will not be improper, or foreign from our purpose, to give here a brief account.

About the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese Jesuits renewed, under the most auspicious encouragement, the mission to *Abyssinia* that had been for some time before that period, interrupted and suspended. For the Emperor Susneius, who assumed the denomination of Seltam Segued, after the defeat of his enemies and his accession to the crown, covered the missionaries with his peculiar protection. Gained over to their cause, partly by the eloquence of the Jesuits, and partly by the hopes of maintaining himself upon the throne by the succours of the Portuguese, he committed the whole government of the church to Alphonso Mender, a missionary from that nation; created him patriarch of the Abyssinians; and not only swore in a public manner allegiance to the Roman pontiff in the year 1626, but moreover, obliged his subjects to abandon the religious rites and tenets of their ancestors, and to embrace the doctrine and

his *Present State of the Church of Rome*, says of the *Arminians and Coptes*.—It is true indeed, that among these sects, the Papal missionaries sometimes form congregations that are obedient to the see of *Rome*; but these congregations are poor and inconsiderable, and composed only of a handful of members. Thus the Capuchins, about the middle of the century now under consideration, founded a small congregation among the Monophysites of *Asia*, whose bishop resides at *Aleppo*. See Lequien, *Oriens Christians*, tom. ii. p. 1408.

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and worship of the Romish church. But the new *patriarch* ruined, by his intemperate zeal, imprudence, and arrogance, the cause in which he had embarked, and occasioned the total subversion of the Roman Pontiff's authority and jurisdiction, which had really been established upon solid foundations. For he began his ministry with the most inconsiderate acts of violence and despotism. Following the spirit of the Spanish *inquisition*, he employed formidable threatenings and cruel tortures to convert the Abyssinians; the greatest part of whom, together with their priests and ministers, held the religion of their ancestors in the highest veneration, and were willing to part with their lives and fortunes rather than forsake it. He also ordered those to be rebaptised, who, in compliance with the orders of the emperor, had embraced the faith of *Rome*, as if their former religion had been nothing more than a system of Paganism [*t*]. This the Abyssinian clergy looked upon as a shocking insult upon the religious discipline of their ancestors, as even more provoking than the violence and barbarities practised against those who refused to submit to the papal yoke. Nor did the insolent patriarch rest satisfied with these arbitrary and despotic proceedings in

☞ [*t*] The reader will recollect that the *Abyssinians* differ but very little from the *Copts* in *Egypt*, and acknowledge the patriarch of Alexandria as their spiritual chief. They receive the Old and New Testament, the three first Councils, the Nicene Creed, and the Apostolical Constitutions. Their first conversion to Christianity is attributed by some to the famous prime minister of their queen Candace, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles;* it is, however, probable, that the general conversion of that great empire was not perfected before the fourth century, when Frumentius, ordained bishop of *Axuma* by Athanasius, exercised his ministry among them with the most astonishing success. They were esteemed a pure church before they fell into the errors of Eutyches and Dioscorus; and even since that period they are still a purer church than that of *Rome*.

in the church; he excited tumults and factions in the state, and, with an unparalleled spirit of rebellion and arrogance, encroached upon the prerogatives of the throne, and attempted to give law to the emperor himself. Hence arose civil commotions, conspiracies, and seditions, which excited in a little time the indignation of the emperor, and the hatred of the people against the Jesuits, and produced, at length, in the year 1631, a public *declaration* from the throne, by which the Abyssinian monarch annulled the orders he had formerly given in favour of popery, and left his subjects at liberty, either to persevere in the doctrine of their ancestors, or to embrace the faith of *Rome*. This rational declaration was mild and indulgent towards the Jesuits, considering the treatment their insolence and presumption had so justly deserved; but in the following reign much severer measures were employed against them. Basilides, the son of Segued, who succeeded his father in the year 1632, no sooner ascended the throne, than he thought it expedient to rid his dominions of these troublesome and despotic guests; and accordingly, in the year 1634, he banished from the territories of *Ethiopia* the Patriarch Mendez, with all the Jesuits and Europeans that belonged to his retinue, and treated the Roman-catholic missionaries with excessive rigour and severity [*u*]. From this period

[*u*] See Ludolfi *Histor. Æthiopica*, lib. iii. cap. xii.—Geddes' *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 233.—La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme de l'Ethiopie*. p. 79.—Lobo *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, p. 116. 130. 144. with the additions of Le Grand, p. 173. and the fourth Dissertation that is subjoined to the second volume. In this dissertation, Le Grand, himself a Roman Catholic, makes the following remark upon the conduct of the Patriarch Mendez: "It were to be wished, *says he*, "that the patriarch had never intermeddled in such a variety "of affairs, *(by which mitigated expression the author means his*

riod the very name of *Rome*, its religion, and its pontiff, were objects of the highest aversion among the Abyssinians, who guarded their frontiers with the greatest vigilance and the strictest attention, lest any Jesuit or Romish missionary should steal into their territories in disguise, and excite new tumults and commotions in the kingdom. The Roman pontiffs indeed made more than one attempt to recover the authority they had lost by the ill success and misconduct of the Jesuits. They began by sending two Capuchin monks to repair their loss; but these unfortunate wretches were no sooner discovered than they were stoned to death. They afterwards employed more artful and clandestine methods of reviving the missions, and had recourse to the influence and intercession of Lewis XIV. king of *France*, to procure admission for their emissaries into the Abyssinian empire [*w*]; but, as far as we have learnt, these

his ambitious attempts to govern in the cabinet as well as in the church), "nor carried his authority to such a height, as to be- "have in *Ethiopia* as if he had been in a country where the "*inquisition* was established: for, by this conduct, he set all "the people against him, and excited in them such an aversion "to the Roman Catholics in general, and to the Jesuits in "particular, as nothing has been hitherto able to diminish, "and which subsists in its full force to this day." ☞ The third book of La Croze's History, which relates to the progress and ruin of this mission, is translated by Mr. Lockman into English, and inserted in *The Travels of the Jesuits*, vol. i. p. 308, &c. as also is Poncet's Voyage mentioned in the following note.

[*w*] These projects are mentioned by Cerri, in his *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 217.—Le Grand in his *Supplement to Lobo's Itinerarium Æthiopicum*, tom. i. p. 181*. The reader who would know what credit is to be given to what

* ☞ Father Lobo, who resided nine years in Ethiopia, has given an elegant and lively, though simple and succinct description, of that vast empire, in his Itinerarium Ethiopicum. This itinerary was translated into French by M. Le Grand, and enriched by him with several curious anecdotes and dissertations. Hence Dr. Mosheim sometimes quotes the Itinerarium, under the title of "Voyage d'Abissinie," referring to Le Grand's French translation of it.

these attempts have hitherto proved unsuccessful, nor have the pontiffs or their votaries been as yet able to calm the resentment of that exasperated nation, or to conquer its reluctance against the worship and jurisdiction of the church of *Rome* [*x*].

XVIII. Hitherto

what the Jesuits say of the attachment and veneration which the Asiatic and African Christians express for the Church of *Rome*, will do well to compare the relations of Le Grand, who was a Roman Catholic, and no enemy to the Jesuits, and who drew his relations from the most authentic records, with those of Poncet, a French physician, who went into *Ethiopia* in the year 1698, accompanied by Father Bredevent, a Jesuit, who died during the voyage. This comparison will convince every ingenuous and impartial inquirer, that the accounts of the Jesuits are not to be trusted to, and that they surpass ancient Carthage itself in the art of deceiving. Poncet's Voyage is published in the fourth volume of the Jesuitical work, entitled, *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes des Missions Etrangeres.*

[*x*] Lafitau and Reboulet, who have composed each a Life of Pope Clement XI. tells us, that the Emperor of *Abyssinia* desired the Roman pontiff, in the year 1703, to send to his court missionaries and legates to instruct him and his people, and to receive their submission to the see of *Rome*. These biographers go still farther, and assert that this monarch actually embraced the communion of *Rome*, in the year 1712. But these assertions are idle fictions, forged by the Jesuits and their creatures. It is well known on the contrary, that so lately as a very few years ago, the edict prohibiting all Europeans to enter into *Ethiopia* was still in force, and was executed with the greatest severity. Even the Turks are included in this prohibition; and what is still more remarkable, the Egyptian Monophysites, who have once entered within the Abyssinian territories, are not allowed to return into their own country. All these facts are confirmed by a modern writer of the most unquestionable authority, the learned and worthy M. Maillet, the French consul-general in *Egypt*, and ambassador from Lewis XIV. to the Emperor of *Abyssinia*, in his *Description de l'Egypte*, part I. p. 325. which was published at *Paris* in 4to. in the year 1735. See also Le Grand's Supplement to Lobo's *Itinerarium*, which was published in the year 1728. This last mentioned author, after relating all the attempts that have been made in our times, by the French nation and the Roman pontiffs, to introduce Romish priests into *Abyssinia*, adds, that all such attempts must appear vain and chimerical to all those who have any knowledge of the empire of *Abyssinia*, and of the spirit

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The papal authority loses ground.

XVIII. Hitherto we have confined our views to the external state and condition of the church of *Rome*, and to the good or ill success that attended its endeavours to extend its dominion in the different parts of the world. It will be now proper to change the scene, to consider this church in its internal constitution, and to pass in review its polity, discipline, institutions, and doctrine. Its ancient form of government still remained; but its pontiffs and bishops lost, in many places, no small part of that extensive authority they had so long enjoyed. The halcyon days were now over, in which the papal clergy excited with impunity seditious tumults in the state, intermeddled openly in the transactions of government, struck terror into the hearts of sovereigns and subjects by the thunder of their anathemas, and imposing burthensome contributions on the credulous multitude, filled their coffers by notorious acts of tyranny and oppression. The pope himself, though still honoured with the same pompous titles and denominations, found, nevertheless, frequently, by a mortifying and painful experience, that these titles had lost a considerable part of their former signification, and that the energy of these denominations diminished from day to day. For now almost all the princes and states of *Europe* had adopted that important maxim that had been formerly peculiar to the French nation: *That the power of the Roman pontiff is entirely confined to matters of a religious and spiritual nature, and cannot, under any pretext whatsoever, extend to civil transactions or worldly affairs.* In the schools, indeed, and colleges of Roman Catholic

spirit and character of its inhabitants; his words are: *Toutes ces enterprises paroitront chimiriques a ceux qui connoitront l'Abissinie et les Abissins.* It is highly probable that the new mission which is preparing at *Rome* for the empire of *Abyssinia*, will prove a new instance of the solidity of M. Le Grand's reflection.

tholic countries, and in the writings of the Romish priests and doctors, the majesty of the pope was still exalted in the most emphatic terms, and his prerogatives displayed with all imaginable pomp. The Jesuits also, who have been always ambitious of a distinguished place among the asserters of the power and pre-eminence of the Roman see, and who give themselves out for the pope's most obsequious creatures, raised their voices, in this ignoble cause, even above those of the schools and colleges. Nay, even in the courts of sovereign princes, very flattering terms and high-sounding phrases were sometimes used, to express the dignity and authority of the head of the church. But as it happens in other cases, that men's actions are frequently very different from their language, so was this observation particularly verified in the case of *Rome's Holy Father*. He was extolled in words, by those who despised him most in reality; and when any dispute arose between him and the princes of his communion, the latter respected his authority no farther than they found expedient for their own purposes, and measured the extent of his prerogatives and jurisdiction, not by the slavish adulation of the colleges and the Jesuits, but by a regard to their own interests and independence.

The rupture between Paul V. and the Venetians.

XIX. This the Roman pontiffs learned, by a disagreeable experience, as often as they endeavoured during this century, to resume their former pretensions, to interpose their authority in civil affairs, and encroach upon the jurisdiction of sovereign states. The conduct of Paul V. and the consequences that followed it, furnish a striking example that abundantly verifies this observation. This haughty and arrogant pontiff laid the Republic of *Venice* under an *Interdict* in the year 1606. The reasons alleged for this insolent proceeding, were the prosecution of two ecclesiastics

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clesiastics for capital crimes; as also two wise edicts, one of which prohibited the erection of any more religious edifices in the Venetian territories, without the knowledge and consent of the senate; and the other the alienation of any lay possessions or estates in favour of the clergy, without the express approbation of the Republic. The Venetian senate received this papal insult with dignity, and conducted themselves under it with becoming resolution and fortitude. Their first step was to prevent their clergy from executing the *Interdict*, by an act prohibiting that cessation of public worship, and that suspension of the sacraments, which the pope had commanded in this imperious mandate. Their next step was equally vigorous; for they banished from their territories the Jesuits and Capuchin friars, who obeyed the orders of the pope, in opposition to their express commands. In the process of this controversy they employed their ablest pens, and particularly that of the learned and ingenious Paul Sarpi, of the order of *Servites*, to demonstrate on the one hand, the justice of their cause, and to determine on the other, after an accurate and impartial enquiry, the true limits of the Roman pontiff's jurisdiction and authority. The arguments of these writers were so strong and urgent, that Baronius, and the other learned advocates whom the Pope had employed in supporting his pretensions and defending his measures, struggled in vain against their irresistible evidence. In the mean time all things tended towards a rupture, and Paul V. was gathering together his forces in order to make war upon the Venetians, when Henry IV. king of *France*, interposed as Mediator [*y*], and concluded a peace between

☞ [*y*] It must be observed here, that it was at the request of the pope, and not of the Venetians, that Henry IV. interposed as mediator. The Venetians had nothing to fear. Their

between the contending parties, on conditions not very honourable to the ambitious Pontiff [z]. For the Venetians could not be persuaded to repeal the edicts and resolutions they had issued out against the court of *Rome* upon this occasion, nor to recall the Jesuits from their exile [a]. It is remarkable,

Their cause was considered as the common cause of all the sovereign states of *Italy;* and the dukes of *Urbino, Modena,* and *Savoy,* had already offered their troops and services to the Republic. But the rash pontiff, perceiving the storm that was gathering against him, took refuge in the Fench monarch's intercession.

[z] Besides De Thou and other Historians, see Daniel, *Histoire de la France,* tom. x. p. 385.—Heidegger's *Historia Papatus Period.* vii. sect. ccxx. p. 322.—Jo. Wolfg. Jaegere *Historia Eccles.* Sæc. xvii. Decenn. i. p. 108. More especially the writings of the famous Paul Sarpi, commonly called Fra-Paolo, and of the other divines and canonists that defended the cause of the Republic, deserve a careful and attentive perusal. For these writings were composed with such solidity, learning, and eloquence, that they produced remarkable effects, and contributed much to open the eyes of several princes and magistrates; and to prevent their submitting blindly and implicitly, as their ancestors had done to the imperious dictates of the Roman pontiffs. Among the most masterly pieces written in this cause, we must place Fra-Paolo's *Istoria delle cose passate entre* Paul V. *et la Republ. di Venetia,* published in 4to at *Mirandolo,* in the year 1624; and his *Historia Interdicti Veneti* which was published in 4to, at *Cambridge,* in the year 1626, by Bishop Bedell, who, during these troubles had been chaplain to the English ambassador at *Venice.* Paul V. by forcing the Venetians to publish to the world, in these admirable productions, his arrogance and temerity on the one hand, and many truths unfavourable to the pretensions of the popes on the other, was the occasion of the greatest perplexities and oppositions that the court of *Rome* had to encounter in after times.

[a] When the peace was made between the Venetians and the pope, in the year 1607, the Capuchins and the other ecclesiastics, that had been banished on account of their partiality to the cause of *Rome,* were all re-instated in their respective functions, except the Jesuits. These latter, however, were recalled in the year 1657, under the Pontificate of Alexander VII. in consequence of the earnest and importunate requests of Lewis XIV. king of *France,* and several other

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remarkable, that, at the time of this rupture, the senate of *Venice* entertained serious thoughts of a total separation from the church of *Rome*, in which the ambassadors of *England* and *Holland* did all that was in their power to confirm them. But many considerations of a momentous nature intervened to prevent the execution of this design, which, as it would seem, had not the approbation of the sagacious and prudent Fra-Paolo, notwithstanding his aversion to the tyranny and maxims of the court of *Rome* [*b*].

XX. Had

princes, who gave the Venetians no rest until they re-admitted these dangerous guests into their territories. It is, nevertheless, to be observed, that the Jesuits never recovered the credit and influence they had formerly enjoyed in that Republic, nor, at this present time, is there any people of the Romish communion, among whom their society has less power than among the Venetians, who have never yet forgot their rebellious behaviour during the quarrel now mentioned. See the *Voyage Historique en Italie, Allemagne, Suisse,* (published at *Amsterdam* in 8vo. in the year 1736), tom. i. p. 291. It is further worthy of observation, that since this famous quarrel between the Republic of *Venice* and the court of *Rome*, the *bulls* and rescripts of the popes have just as much authority in that Republic, as its senate judges consistent with the rules of wise policy, and the true interests and welfare of the community. For proof of this, we need go no further than the respectable testimony of Cardinal Henry Noris, who, in the year 1676, wrote to Magliabecchi in the following terms: *Poche Bulls passevano quelle acque verso, la parte del Adriatico, per le massime lasciate nel Testamento di* Fra-Paolo: i. e. *Few papal Bulls pass the Po, or approach the coasts of the Adriatic sea; the maxims bequeathed to the Venetians by* Fra-Paolo *render this passage extremely difficult.*

[*b*] This design of the Venetians is particularly mentioned by Burnet, in his *Life of Bishop* Bedell, and by La Courayer, in his *Defense de la Nouvelle Traduction de l'Histoire du Concile de Trente* (published in 8vo at *Amsterdam* in the year 1742.) p. 35. This latter writer shews plainly, that Fra-Paolo, though his sentiments differed in many points from the doctrine of the church of *Rome*, yet did not approve of all the tenets received by the Protestants, nor suggest to the Venetians the design of renouncing the Romish faith.

The contest between the Roman pontiffs and the court of *Portugal.*

XX. Had the Portuguese acted with the same wisdom and resolution that distinguished the Venetians, their contest with the court of *Rome*, which began under the pontificate of Urban VIII. in the year 1641, and was carried on until the year 1666, would have been terminated in a manner equally disadvantageous to the haughty pretensions of the Roman pontiffs. The Portuguese, unable to bear any longer the tyranny and oppression of the Spanish government, threw off the yoke, and chose Don John, duke of *Braganza* for their king. Urban VIII. and his successors in the see of *Rome*, obstinately refused, notwithstanding the most earnest and pressing solicitations, both of the French and Portuguese, either to acknowledge Don John's title to the crown, or to confirm the bishops whom this prince had named to fill the vacant sees in *Portugal.* Hence it happened, that the greatest part of the kingdom remained for a long time without bishops. The pretended vicar of Christ upon earth, whose character ought to set him above the fear of man, was so slavishly apprehensive of the resentment of the king of *Spain*, that, rather than offend that monarch, he violated the most solemn obligations of his station, by leaving such a number of churches without pastors and spiritual guides. The French, and other European courts, advised and exhorted the new king of *Portugal* to follow the noble example of the Venetians, and to assemble a national council, by which the new created bishops might be confirmed, in spite of the pope, in their respective sees. Don John seemed disposed to listen to their councils, and to act with resolution and vigour at this important crisis; but his enterprising spirit was checked by the formidable power of the *inquisition*, the incredible superstition of the people, and the blind zeal and attachment that the nation, in general discovered

for the person and authority of the Roman pontiff. Hence the popes continued their insults with impunity; and it was not before the peace concluded between *Portugal* and *Spain*, five and twenty years after this revolution, that the bishops nominated by the king were confirmed by the pope. It was under the pontificate of Clement IX. that an accommodation was brought about between the courts of *Portugal* and *Rome*. It must, indeed, be observed, to the honour of the Portuguese, that, notwithstanding their superstitious attachment to the court of *Rome*, they vigorously opposed its ambitious pontiff in all his attempts to draw from this contest an augmentation of his power and authority in that kingdom; nor did the bishops permit, in their respective sees, any encroachment to be made, at this time, upon the privileges and rights enjoyed by their monarchs in former ages [*c*].

The contests between the French nation and the Roman Pontiffs.

XXI. There had subsisted, during many preceding ages, an almost uninterrupted misintelligence between the French monarchs and the Roman pontiffs which had often occasioned an open rupture, and which produced more than once that violent effect during this century. The greatest exertions of industry, artifice, and assiduous labour were employed by the popes, during the whole of this period, to conquer the aversion that the French had conceived against the pretensions and authority of the court of *Rome*, and to undermine imperceptibly, and enervate and destroy by degrees, the *liberties of the Gallican*

[*c*] See Geddes' *History of the Pope's behaviour towards Portugal*, from 1641 to 1666, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, tom. ii. p. 73—186.—The cause of the Portuguese, in this quarrel, is defended with great learning and sagacity by a French writer, whose name was Bulliad, in a book entitled, *Pro Ecclesiis Lusitanis ad Clerum Gallicanum Libello Duo.*

Gallican Church. In this arduous and important enterprise the Jesuits acted a principal part, and seconded with all their dexterity and craft, the designs of the aspiring pontiffs. But these attempts and stratagems were effectually defeated and disconcerted by the parliament of *Paris;* while many able pens exposed the tyranny and injustice of the papal claims, Richer, Launoy, Petrus de Marca, Natalis Alexander, Ellis, du Pin, and others, displayed their learning and talents in this contest, though with different degrees of merit. They appealed to the ancient decrees of the Gallican church, which they confirmed by recent authorities, and enforced by new and victorious arguments. It will naturally be thought, that these bold and respectable defenders of the rights and liberties, both of church and state, were amply rewarded, for their generous labours, by peculiar marks of the approbation and protection of the court of *France.* But this was so far from being always the case, that they received, on the contrary, from time to time several marks of its resentment and displeasure, designed to appease the rage and indignation of the threatening pontiff, whom it was thought expedient to treat sometimes with artifice and caution. *Rome,* however, gained but little by this mild policy of the French court. For it has been always a prevailing maxim with the monarchs of that nation, that their prerogatives and pretensions are to be defended against the encroachments of the Roman pontiffs with as little noise and contention as possible; and that pompous memorials, and warm and vehement remonstrances, are to be carefully avoided, except in cases of urgent necessity [*d*]. Nor do these

☞ [*d*] It is with a view to this, that Voltaire, speaking of the manner in which the court of *France* maintains its prerogatives against the Roman pontiff, says, pleasantly, that "the king of France kisses the pope's feet, and ties up his hands."

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princes think it beneath their dignity to yield, more or less, to time and occasion, and even to pretend a mighty veneration for the orders and authority of the pontiffs, in order to obtain from them, by fair means, the immunities and privileges which they look upon as their due. But they are, nevertheless, constantly on their guard; and, as soon as they perceive the court of *Rome*, taking advantage of their lenity to extend its dominion, and the lordly popes growing insolent in consequence of their mildness and submission, they then alter their tone, change their measures, and resume the language that becomes the monarchs of a nation, that could never bear the tyranny and oppression of the papal yoke. All this appears evidently in the contests that arose between the courts of *France* and *Rome*, under the reign of Lewis XIV. of which it will not be improper to give here some interesting instances [*e*].

And more especially those of Lewis XIV.

XXII. The first of these contests happened under the pontificate of Alexander VII. and was owing to the temerity and insolence of his Corsican guards, who, in the year 1662, insulted the French ambassador and his lady, the duke and duchess of Crequi, at the instigation, as it is supposed, of the pope's nephews. Lewis demanded satisfaction for this insult offered to his representative; and, on the pope's delaying to answer this demand, actually ordered his troops to file off for *Italy*, and to besiege the arrogant pontiff in his capital. The latter, terrified by these

☞ [*e*] The large note [*l*] of the original, in which Dr. Mosheim has examined that interesting question, viz. "Whether or no the papal authority gained or lost ground in *France* during the seventeenth century," is transposed by the translator into the text, and placed at the end of our author's account of Lewis XIV's quarrels with the pope, where it comes in with the utmost propriety. See sect. xxiii.

these warlike preparations, implored the clemency of the incensed monarch, who granted his pardon and absolution to the humble pontiff, and concluded a peace with him at *Pisa*, in the year 1664, upon the most inglorious and mortifying conditions. These conditions were, that the pope should send his nephew to *Paris*, in the character of a suppliant for pardon; that he should brand the Corsican guards with perpetual infamy, and break them by a public edict; and should erect a pyramid at *Rome*, with an inscription destined to preserve the memory of this audacious instance of papal insolence, and of the exemplary manner in which it was chastised and humbled by the French monarch. It is however to be observed, that in this contest, Lewis did not chastise Alexander, considered in his ghostly character as head of the church; but as a temporal prince, violating the law of nations [*f*]. He however shewed on other occasions, that, when properly provoked, he was as much disposed to humble *papal* as *princely* ambition, and that he feared the *head of the church* as little as the *temporal ruler* of the ecclesiastical state. This appeared evidently by the important and warm debate he had with Innocent XI. considered in his *spiritual* character, which began about the year 1678, and was carried on with great animosity and contention for several years after. The subject of this controversy was a *right*, called in *France the regale*, by which the French king, upon the death of a bishop, laid claim to the revenues and fruits of his see, and discharged also several parts [*g*] of the episcopal

[*f*] See Jaegeri *Histor. Eccles.* Sæc. xvi. Decenn. vii. lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 180.—Voltaire. *Siecle. de* Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 134. *Edit. de Dresde* 1753.—Arckenholtz, *Memoires de la Reine* Christine, tom. ii. p. 72.

☞ [*g*] The author means here undoubtedly the collation of all benefices, which became vacant in the diocese of a deceased

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episcopal function, until a new bishop was elected. Lewis was desirous that all the churches in his dominions should be subject to the *regale*. Innocent pretended, on the contrary, that this claim could not be granted with such universality; nor would he consent to any augmentation of the prerogatives of this nature that had formerly been enjoyed by the kings of *France*. Thus the claims of the prince, and the remonstrances of the pontiff, both urged with warmth and perseverance, formed a sharp and violent contest, which was carried on, on both sides, with spirit and resolution. The pontiff sent forth his bulls and mandates. The monarch opposed their execution by the terror of penal laws, and the authority of severe edicts against all who dared to treat them with the smallest regard. When the pontiff refused to confirm the bishops that were nominated by the monarch, the latter took care to have them consecrated and inducted into their respective sees; and thus, in some measure, declared to the world that the Gallican church could govern itself without the intervention of the Roman pontiff. Innocent XI. who was a man of a high spirit, and inflexibly obstinate in his purposes, did not lose courage at a view of these resolute and vigorous proceedings; but threatened the monarch with the divine vengeance, issued out bull after bull, and did every thing in his power to convince his adversaries, that the vigour and intrepidity, which formerly distinguished the lordly rulers of the Romish church, were not yet totally extinguished [*h*]. This

ceased bishop before the nomination of his successor. This right of collation, in such cases, was comprehended in the *Regale*. See note [*i*].

[*h*] See Jo. Hen. Heideggeri *Historia Papatus*, Period. vii. § cccxli. p. 555. ☞ Voltaire *Siecle de* Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 221. *Edit. de Dresde* 1753. A great number of writers have either

This obstinacy, however, only served to add fuel to the indignation and resentment of Lewis. And accordingly that monarch summoned the famous assembly of bishops [*i*], which met at *Paris*, in the year 1682. In this convocation, the ancient doctrine of the Gallican church, that declares the power of the pope to be *merely* spiritual, and also inferior to that of a general council, was drawn up anew in four propositions [*j*], which were solemnly adopted by the whole assembly

either incidentally or professedly treated the subject of the *Regale*, and have given ample accounts of the controversies it has occasioned. But none has traced out more circumstantially the rise and progress of this famous right than Cardinal Henry Norris, in his *Istoria delle Investiture Ecclesiast.* p. 547, which is inserted in the fourth volume of his works.

☞ [*i*] This assembly, which consisted of thirty-five bishops, and as many deputies of the second Order, extended the *Regale* to all the churches in *France* without exception. The bishops at the same time, thought proper to represent it to the king as their humble opinion, that those ecclesiastics whom he should be pleased to nominate, during the vacancy of the see, to benefices attended with cure of souls, were obliged to apply for induction and confirmation to the grand vicars appointed by the chapters.

☞ [*j*] These four propositions were to the following purpose:

1. That neither St. Peter nor his successors have received from God any power to interfere, directly, or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interests of princes and sovereign states; that kings and princes cannot be deposed by ecclesiastical authority, nor their subjects freed from the sacred obligation of fidelity and allegiance, by the power of the church, or the bulls of the Roman pontiff.

2. That the decrees of the council of *Constance*, which maintained the authority of general councils as superior to that of the pope's in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the Gallican church.

3. That the rules, customs, institutions, and observances, which have been received in the Gallican church, are to be preserved inviolable.

4. That the decisions of the pope, in points of faith, are not infallible, unless they be attended with the consent of the church.

sembly, and were proposed to the whole body of the clergy, and to all the universities throughout the kingdom, as a sacred and inviolable rule of faith. But even this respectable decision of the matter, which gave such a mortal wound to the authority of *Rome*, did not shake the constancy of its resolute pontiff, or reduce him to silence [*k*].

Another contest arose, some time after the one now mentioned, between these two princes, whose mutual jealousy and dislike of each other contributed much to inflame their divisions. This new dispute broke out in the year 1687, when Innocent XI. wisely resolved to suppress the franchises, and the *right of asylum* that had formerly been enjoyed by the ambassadors residing at *Rome*,

[*k*] This pope was far from keeping silence with respect to the famous propositions mentioned in the preceding note. As they were highly unfavourable to his authority, so he took care to have them refuted and opposed both in private and in public. The principal champion for the papal cause, on this occasion, was Cardinal Celestin Sfondrati, who in the year 1684, published under the feigned name of Eugenius Lombardus, a treatise, entitled, *Regale Sacerdotium Romano Pontifici assertum, et quatuor propositionibus explicatum.* This treatise was printed in *Switzerland*, as appears evidently by the character or form of the letters. A multitude of Italian, German, and Spanish doctors stood forth to support the tottering majesty of the pontiff against the court of *France;* and more especially the learned Nicholas du Bois, professor at *Louvain*, whose writings in defence of the pope are mentioned by Bossuet. But all these papal champions were defeated by the famous prelate last mentioned, the learned and elegant bishop of *Meaux*, who, by the king's special order, composed that celebrated work which appeared after his death, in two volumes 4to, and in the year 1730, under the following title: *Defensio Declarationis celebrimæ, quam de Protestate Ecclesiastica sanxit Clerus Gallicanus,* xix *Martii,* MDCLXXXII, *Luxumburgi.* The late publication of this work was owing to the prospect of a reconciliation between the courts of *France* and *Rome* after the death of Innocent XI. which reconciliation actually took place, and engaged Lewis XIV. to prevent this work being put to the press.

Rome [*l*], and had, on many occasions, proved a sanctuary for rapine, violence, and injustice, by procuring impunity for the most heinous malefactors. The Marquis De Lavardin refused, in the name of the French king, to submit to this new regulation; and Lewis took all the violent methods that pride and resentment could invent to oblige the pontiff to restore to his ambassador the immunities above mentioned [*m*]. Innocent, on the other hand, persisted in his purpose, opposed the king's demands in the most open and intrepid manner, and could not be wrought upon by any consideration to yield, even in appearance to his ambitious adversary [*n*]. His death, however, put an end to this long debate, which had proved really detrimental to both of the contending parties. His successors being men of a softer and more complaisant disposition, were less averse to the concessions that were necessary to bring about a reconciliation, and to the measures that were adapted to remove the chief causes of these unseemly contests. They were not, indeed, so far unmindful of the papal dignity, and of the interests of *Rome*, as to patch up an agreement on inglorious terms. On the one hand, the right of *asylum* was suppressed with the king's consent; on the other, the right of the *regale* was settled with

☞ [*l*] This *right of asylum* extended much further than the ambassador's palace, whose immunity the pope did not mean to violate; it comprehended a considerable extent of ground which was called a *quarter*, and undoubtedly gave occasion to great and crying abuses.

☞ [*m*] The Marquis de Lavardin began his embassy by entering *Rome*, surrounded with a thousand men in arms.

[*n*] Jaegeri, *Historia Ecclesiastic.* Sæc. xvii. Decenn. ix. p. 19.—*Legatio* Lavardini, which was published in 1688.—But above all, *Memoires de la Reine* Christine, tom. ii. p. 248. For Christina took part in this contest, and adopted the cause of the French monarch.

with certain modifications [*o*]. The four famous *propositions*, relating to the pope's authority and jurisdiction, were softened, by the king's permission, in private letters addressed to the pontiff by certain bishops; but they were neither abrogated by the prince, nor renounced by the clergy; on the contrary, they still remain in force, and occupy an eminent place among the laws of the kingdom.

Whether or no the papal authority gained ground in this century.

XXIII. [*p*] Several Protestant writers of eminent merit and learning, lament the accessions of power and authority which the Roman pontiffs are supposed to have gained in France during the course of this century. They tell us, with sorrow, that the Italian notions of the papal majesty and jurisdiction, which the French nation had, in former ages, looked upon with abhorrence, gained ground now, and had infected not only the nobility and clergy, but almost all ranks and orders of men; and from hence they conclude, that the famous *rights and liberties of the Gallican church* have suffered greatly by the perfidious stratagems of the Jesuits. They are led into this opinion by certain measures that were taken by the French court, and which seemed to favour the pretensions of the Roman pontiff. They are confirmed in it by the declamations of the Jansenists, and other modern writers among the French, who complain of the high veneration that was paid to the papal bulls during this century; of the success of the Jesuits in instilling into the mind of the king and his counsellors the maxims of *Rome*, and an excessive attachment to its bishop; of

[*o*] See Fleury, *Institutions du Droit Ecclesiastique Francois*, which excellent work is translated into Latin. ☞ Dr. Mosheim refers to p. 454. of the Latin version.

☞ [*p*] This sect. xxiii. contains the ample note [*l*], which is to be found at p. 880, of the original. It comes in here with more propriety.

of the violence and ill treatment that were offered to all those who adhered stedfastly to the doctrine and maxims of their forefathers; and of the gradual attempts that were made to introduce the formidable tribunal of the *inquisition* into *France*. But it will perhaps appear, on mature consideration that too much stress is laid, by many, on these complaints; and that the *rights and privileges* of the Gallican church were in this century, and are actually at this day, in the same state and condition in which we find them during those earlier ages, of which the writers and declaimers above-mentioned incessantly boast. It might be asked, where are the victories that are said to have been obtained over the French by the popes of *Rome*, and which some Protestant doctors, lending a credulous ear to the complaints of the Jansenists and *Appellants*, think they perceive with the utmost clearness? I am persuaded it would be difficult, if not impossible, to give a satisfactory answer in the affirmative to this question.

It is true, indeed, that as the transactions of government, in general, are now carried on in *France*, with more subtilty, secresy, and art, than in former times; so in particular, the stratagems and machinations of the Roman pontiffs have been opposed and defeated with more artifice and less noise, than in those more rude and unpolished ages, when almost every contest was terminated by brutal force and open violence. The opposition between the court of *France* and the bishop of *Rome* still subsists; but the manner of terminating their differences is changed; and their debates are carried on with less clamour, though not certainly with less animosity and vigour, than in the times of old. This new and prudent manner of disputing is not agreeable to the restless, fiery, and impatient temper of the French, who have an

an irresistible propensity to noisy, clamorous, and expeditious proceedings; and hence undoubtedly arise all the complaints we have heard, and still hear, of the decline of the liberties of the Gallican church, in consequence of the growing influence and perfidious counsels of the Jesuits. If those, however, who are accustomed to make these complaints, would for a moment suspend their prejudices, and examine with attention the history, and also the present state of their country, they would soon perceive that their ecclesiastical *liberties* [q], instead of declining, or of being neglected by their monarchs, are maintained and preserved with more care, resolution, and foresight, than ever. It must indeed be acknowledged, that, in *France*, there are multitudes of cringing slaves, who basely fawn upon the Roman pontiffs, exalt their prerogatives, revere their majesty, and, through the dictates of superstition, interest, or ambition, are ever ready to hug the papal chain, and submit their necks blindly to the yoke of those ghostly tyrants; but it may be proved by the most undoubted facts, and by innumerable examples, that these servile creatures of the pope abounded as much in *France* in former ages as they do at this day; and it must be also considered, that it is not by the counsels of this slavish tribe that the springs of government are moved, or the affairs of state and church transacted. It must be further acknowledged, that

☞ [q] It is not necessary to advertise the reader, that by these *liberties* are not meant, that rational and Christian liberty which entitles every individual to follow the light of his own conscience and the dictates of his own judgment in religious matters; for no such liberty is allowed in *France*. The *liberties* of the *Gallican church* consists in the opposition which that church has made, at different times to the overgrown power of the Roman pontiff, and to his pretended *personal* infallibility.

that the Jesuits had arrived at a very high degree of influence and authority [r], and sometimes have credit enough to promote measures that do not all appear consistent with the rights of the Gallican church, and must consequently be considered as heavy grievances by the patrons of the ancient ecclesiastical liberty. But here it may be observed, on the one hand, that many such measures have been proposed and followed before the rise of the Jesuits; and, on the other, that many affairs of great consequence are daily transacted in a manner highly displeasing and detrimental to that society, snd extremely disagreeable to the Roman pontiffs. If it be alleged, that those who defend with learning and judgment the ancient doctrines and maxims of the Gallican church scarcely escape public censure and punishment, and that those who maintain them with vehemence and intemperate zeal are frequently rewarded with exile or a prison; nay, that the most humble and modest patrons of these doctrines are left in obscurity without encouragement or recompense: all this must be granted. But it must be considered on the other hand, that the cause they maintain, and the ancient doctrines and maxims they defend, are not condemned, nor even deserted; the matter is only this, that the prince and his ministry have fallen upon a new method of maintaining and supporting them. It appears to them much more conducive to public peace and order, that the stratagems and attempts of the Roman pontiffs should

☞ [r] Dr. Mosheim wrote this in the year 1753, before the suppression of the Order of Jesuits in *France*. The downfal of that Society and the circumstances that have attended it, seem both to illustrate and confirm his judicious notion with respect to the degree of credit and influence which the popes have had in that kingdom for some time past.

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be opposed and defeated by secret exertions of resolution and vigour, without noise or ostentation, than by learned productions and clamorous disputes; which, for the most part excite factions in the kingdom, inflame the spirits of the people, throw the state into tumult and confusion, exasperate the pontiffs, and alienate them still more and more from the French nation. In the mean time the doctors and professors, who are placed in the various seminaries of learning, are left at liberty to instruct the youth in the ancient doctrine and discipline of the church, and to explain and inculcate those maxims and laws by which in former times, the papal authority was restrained and confined within certain limits. If these laws and maxims are infringed, and if even violent methods are employed against those who adhere stedfastly to them, this happens but very rarely, and never but when some case of extreme necessity, or the prospect of some great advantage to the community, absolutely require their suspension. Besides, those who sit at the political helm, always take care to prevent the pope's reaping much benefit from this suspension or neglect of the ancient laws and maxims of the church. This circumstance, which is of so much importance in the present question, must appear evident to such as will be at the pains to look into the history of the debates that attended, and the consequences that followed, the reception of the *Bull Unigenitus* in *France*, than which no papal edict could seem more repugnant to the rights and liberties of the Gallican church. But in the business of this *Bull*, as in other transactions of a like nature, the court proceeded upon this political maxim, that a smaller evil is to be submitted to, when a greater may be thereby prevented.

In

In a word, the kings of *France* have almost always treated the Roman pontiffs as the heroes, who are said, in pagan story, to have descended into *Tartarus*, behaved towards the triple-jawed guardian of that lower region: sometimes they offered a soporiferous cake to suppress his grumbling and menacing tone; at others they terrified him with their naked swords, and the din of arms; and this with a view to stop his barking, and to obtain the liberty of directing their course in the manner they thought proper. There is nothing invidious designed by this comparison, which certainly represents, in a lively manner, the caresses and threatenings that were employed by the *French* monarchs, according to the nature of the times, the state of affairs, the character of the pontiffs, and other incidental circumstances, in order to render the court of *Rome* favourable to their designs. We have dwelt, perhaps, too much upon this subject; but we thought it not improper to undeceive many Protestant writers, who too much influenced by the bitter complaints and declamations of certain Jansenists, and not sufficiently instructed in the history of these ecclesiastical contentions, have formed erroneous notions concerning the point we have here endeavoured to examine and discuss.

The state of the Roman clergy.

XXIV. The corruptions that had been complained of in preceding ages, both in the higher and inferior Orders of the Romish clergy, were rather increased than diminished during this century, as the most impartial writers of that communion candidly confess. The bishops were rarely indebted for their elevation to their eminent learning or superior merit. The intercession of potent patrons, services rendered to men in power, connections of blood, and simoniacal practices, were, generally speaking, the steps to preferment; and, what was still more deplorable,

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their promotion was sometimes owing to their vices. Their lives were such, as might be expected from persons who had risen in the church by such unseemly means; for had they been obliged by their profession, to give public examples of those vices which the holy laws of the Gospel so solemnly and expressly condemn, instead of exhibiting patterns of sanctity and virtue to their flock, they could not have conducted themselves otherwise than they did [*s*]. Some indeed there were, who, sensible of the obligations of their profession, displayed a true Christian zeal, in administering useful instruction, and exhibiting pious examples to their flock, and exerted their utmost vigour and activity, in opposing the vices of the sacred Order in particular, and the licentiousness of the times in general. But these rare patrons of virtue and piety were either ruined by the resentment and stratagems of their envious and exasperated brethren, or were left in obscurity, without that encouragement and support that were requisite to enable them to execute effectually their pious and laudable purposes. The same treatment fell to the lot of those among the lower order of the clergy, who endeavoured to maintain the cause of truth and virtue. But the number of sufferers in this noble cause was small, compared with the multitude of corrupt ecclesiastics, who were carried away with the torrent instead of opposing it, and whose lives were spent in scenes of pleasure, or in the anxiety and toils of avarice and ambition. While we acknowledge, that, among the bishops and inferior

[*s*] The reader may see these disagreeable accounts of the corruptions of the clergy confirmed by a great number of unexceptionable testimonies, drawn from the writings of the most eminent doctors of the Romish church, in the *Memoires de Port Royal*, tom. ii. p. 308.

rior clergy, there were several exceptions from that general prevalence of immorality and licentiousness with which the sacred Order was chargeable; it is also incumbent upon us to do justice to the merit of some of the Roman pontiffs, in this century, who used their most zealous endeavours to reform the manners of the clergy, or, at least, to oblige them to observe the rules of external decency in their conduct and conversation. It is however matter of surprise, that these pontiffs did not perceive the unsurmountable obstacles to the success of their counsels, and the fruits of their wise and salutary edicts, that arose from the internal constitution of the Romish church, and the very nature of the papal government. For were the Roman pontiffs even divinely inspired, and really infallible, yet unless this inspiration and infallibility were attended with a miraculous power, and with the supernatural privilege of being present in many places at the same time, it is not conceivable how they should ever entertain a notion of the possibility of restoring or maintaining order, or good morals, among that prodigious multitude of persons of all classes and characters that are subject to their jurisdiction.

The state of the monastic orders.

XXV. Though the monks, in several places, behaved with much more circumspection and decency than in former times, yet they had every where departed, in a great measure, from the spirit of their founders, and the primitive laws of their respective institutions. About the commencement of this century, their convents and colleges made a most wretched and deplorable figure, as we learn from the accounts of the wisest and most learned, even of their own writers. But we find further on, several attempts made to remove this disorder. The first were made by some wise and pious Benedictines, who, in *France*, and other countries, *reformed* several monasteries of their

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Order, and endeavoured to bring them back, as near as was possible, to the laws and discipline of their founder [*t*]. Their example was followed by the monks of *Clugni*, the Cistercians, the regular canons, the Dominicans and Franciscans [*u*]. It is from this period that we are to date the division of the monastic Orders into two general classes; one of these comprehends the *Reformed* monks, who, reclaimed from that licentiousness and corruption of manners that had formerly dishonoured their societies, lead more strict and regular lives, and discover in their conduct a greater regard to the primitive laws of their Order. The other is composed of the *Un-reformed* Orders, who, forgetting the spirit of their founders, and the rules of their institute, spend their days in ease and pleasure, and have no taste for the austerities and hardships of the monastic life. The latter class is by far the most numerous; and the greatest part, even of the *Reformed* monks, does not only come short of that purity of manners which their *rule* enjoins, but are moreover gradually and

[*t*] Le Boeuf, *Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 513. where there is an account of the first *Reforms* made in the convents during this century.—See Martene's *Voyage Litteraire de deux Benedictins*, par. II. p. 97.

[*u*] There is an account of all the convents reformed in this century, in Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. v. vi. vii. to which, however, several interesting circumstances may be added, by consulting other writers. The *Reform* of the Monks of *Clugni* is amply described by the Benedictines, in the *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 544. The same authors speak of the *Reform* of the *Regular Canons of St.* Augustin, tom. vii. p. 778. 787. 790.—For an account of that of the *Cistercians*, see Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 121.—*Voyage Litteraire de deux Benedictins*, tom. i. p. 7, 8. tom. ii. p. 133. 229. 269. 303. The *Cistercians* were no sooner *reformed* themselves, than they used their most zealous endeavours for the reformation of the whole society (*i. e.* of the Benedictine Order,) but in vain. See Meaufou, *Vie de l'Abbe de la Trappe*, tom. i. p. 192.

and imperceptibly relapsing into their former indolence and disorder.

The Congregation of St. Maur.

XXVI. Among the *Reformed* monks, a particular degree of attention is due to certain Benedictine societies, or *congregations*, who surpass all the other monastic Orders, both in the excellence and utility of their rules and constitution, and in the zeal and perseverance with which they adhere to them. The most famous of these societies is the *Congregation of St. Maur* [*w*], which was founded in the year 1620, by the express order of Gregory XV. and was enriched by Urban VIII. in the year 1627, with several donations and privileges. It does not indeed appear, that even this society adheres strictly to the spirit and maxims of Benedict, whose name it bears, nor is it beyond the reach of censure in other respects; but these imperfections are compensated by the great number of excellent rules and institutions that are observed in it, and by the regular lives and learned labours of its members. For in this congregation there is a select number of persons, who are distinguished by their genius and talents, set apart for the study of sacred and profane literature, and more especially of history and antiquities; and this learned part of the society is furnished with all the means and materials of know-

[*w*] See the *Gallia Christiana Nova*, an admirable work, composed by the Congregation of St. Maur, tom. vii. p. 474.—Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. cap. xxxvii. p. 256. The letters patent of Pope Gregory XV. by which the establishment of this famous congregation was approved and confirmed, were criticised with great severity and rigour by Launoy, that formidable scourge of all the Monastic orders, in his *Examen privil. S. Germani*, tom. iii. p. i. opp. p. 303. The same author gives an account of the dissensions that arose in this *congregation* immediately after its establishment; but an account which savours too much of that partiality that he was chargeable with, whenever he treated of monastic affairs; see his *Assert. Inquisit. in privil. S. Medardi*, p. i. cap. lxxvi. p. 127. tom. iii. opp. p. 2.

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ledge in a rich abundance, and with every thing that can tend to facilitate their labours and render them successful [*x*]. It must be abundantly known,

[*x*] The Benedictines celebrate, in pompous terms, the exploits of this *congregation* in general, and more especially their zealous and successful labours in restoring order, discipline, and virtue, in a great number of monasteries, which were falling into ruin through the indolence and corruption of their licentious members; see the "Voyage de deux Religieux Benedictins de la Congregation de S. Maur," tom. i. p. 16. tom. ii. p. 47. This eulogy, though perhaps exaggerated, is not entirely unmerited; and there is no doubt but the Benedictines have contributed much to restore the credit of the monastic Orders. There are, nevertheless, several classes of ecclesiastics in the Romish church, who are no well-wishers to this learned *congregation*, though their dislike be founded on different reasons. In the first class, we may place a certain number of ambitious prelates, whose artful purposes have been disappointed by this ingenious fraternity; for the monks of St. *Maur*, having turned their principal study towards ancient history and antiquities of every kind, and being perfectly acquainted with ancient records, diplomas, and charters, are thus peculiarly qualified to maintain their possessions, their jurisdictions, and privileges, against the litigious pretensions of the bishops, and have, in fact, maintained them with more success than their Order could do in former times, when destitute of learning, or but ill furnished with the knowledge of ancient history. The Jesuits form the second class of adversaries, with whom this learned *congregation* has been obliged to struggle; for their lustre and reputation being considerably eclipsed by the numerous and admirable productions of these Benedictines, they have used their utmost endeavours to sink, or at least to diminish, the credit of such formidable rivals. "See Simon, Lettres Choises," tom. iv. p. 36, 45. These Benedictines have a third set of enemies, who are instigated by superstition; and it is not improbable, that this superstition may be accompanied with a certain mixture of envy. To understand this fully, it must be observed, that the learned Monks, of whom we are now speaking, have substituted an assiduous application to the culture of philology and literature in the place of that bodily and manual labour which the Rule of St. Benedict prescribes to his followers. The more robust, healthy, and vigorous Monks, are obliged to employ a certain portion of the day in working with their hands; while those of a weaker constitution, and superior genius, are allowed to exchange bodily for mental

known, to those who have any acquaintance with the history and progress of learning in *Europe*, what signal advantages the republic of letters has derived from the establishment of this famous *Congregation*, whose numerous and admirable productions have cast a great light upon all the various branches of philology and *Belles Lettres*, and whose researches have taken in the whole circle of science, philosophy excepted [*y*].

XXVII. Though

mental labour, and instead of cultivating the lands or gardens of the convent, to spend their days in the pursuit of knowledge, both human and divine. The lazy monks envy this bodily repose; and the superstitious and fanatical ones, who are vehemently prejudiced in favour of the ancient monastic discipline, behold, with contempt, these learned researches as unbecoming the monastic character, since they tend to divert the mind from divine contemplation. This superstitious and absurd opinion was maintained, with peculiar warmth and vehemence, by Armand John Bouthelier de Rance, abbot of *La Trappe*, in his book *Des devoirs monastiques;* upon which the Benedictines employed Mabillon, the most learned of their fraternity, to defend their cause, and to expose the reveries of the abbot in their proper colours. This he did with remarkable success, in his famous book, *De Studiis Monasticis*, which was first published in 8vo at *Paris*, in the year 1691, passed afterwards through several editions, and was translated into different languages. Hence arose that celebrated question, which was long debated with great warmth and animosity in *France*, viz. "How far a monk may, consistently with his character, apply himself to the study of literature?" There is an elegant and interesting history of this controversy given by Vincent Thuillier, a most learned monk of the congregation of *St. Maur;* see the "Opera Posthuma Mabillonii et Ruinartii," tom. i. p. 365—425.

[*y*] The curious reader will find an account of the authors and learned productions with which the congregation of *St. Maur* has enriched the republic of letters, in Ph. le Cerf's "Bibliotheque Historique et Critique des Auteurs de la Congregation de St. Maur," published at the *Hague* in 8vo in 1726; and also in Bernard Pez's "Bibliotheca Benedictino-Mariana," published in 8vo at *Augsbourg* in 1716.—These Benedictines still maintain their literary fame by the frequent publications of laborious and learned productions in all the various branches of sacred and profane literature.

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XXVII. Though these pious attempts to reform the monasteries were not entirely unsuccessful, yet the effects they produced, even in those places, where they had succeeded most, came far short of that perfection of austerity that had seized the imaginations of a set of persons, whose number is considerable in the Romish church, though their credit be small, and their severity be generally looked upon as excessive and disgusting. These rigid censors having always in their eye the ancient discipline of the monastic Orders, and bent on reducing the modern convents to that austere discipline looked upon the changes abovementioned as imperfect and trifling. They considered a monk as a person obliged, by the sanctity of his profession, to spend his whole days in prayers, tears, contemplation, and silence; in the perusal of holy books, and the hardships of bodily labour; nay, they went so far as to maintain, that all other designs, and all other occupations, however laudable and excellent in themselves, were, entirely foreign from the monastic vocation, and, on that account, vain and sinful in persons of that Order. This severe plan of monastic discipline was recommended by several persons, whose obscurity put it out of their power to influence many in its behalf; but it was also adopted by the Jansenists, who reduced it to practice in certain places [z], and in none with more success and reputation than in the female convent of

[z] See the Memoires de Port-Royal, tom. ii. p. 601, 602. —Martin Barcos, the most celebrated Jansenist of this century, introduced this austere rule of discipline into the monastery of *St. Cyran*, of which he was abbot. See the "Gallia Christiana," tom. ii. p. 132—Moleon, "Voyages Liturgiques," p. 135. But, after the death of this famous abbot, the monks of his cloister relapsed into their former disorder, and resumed their former manners. See "Voyage de deux, Benedictins," tom. i. p. i. p. 18.

of *Port-Royal* where it has subsisted from the year 1618 until our time [*a*]. These steps of the Jansenists excited a spirit of emulation, and several monasteries exerted themselves in the imitation of this austere model; but they were all surpassed by the famous Bouthillier de Rance, abbot *de la Trappe* [*b*], who, with the most ardent zeal, and indefatigable labour, attended with uncommon success, introduced into his monastery this discipline, in all its austere and shocking perfection. This abbot, so illustrious by his birth, and so remarkable for his extraordinary devotion, was so happy as to vindicate his fraternity from the charge of excessive superstition, which the Jansenists

[*a*] Helyot, "Histoire des Ordres," tom. v. chap. xliv. p. 455.

☞ [*b*] This illustrious abbot shewed very early an extraordinary genius for the *Belles Lettres*. At the age of ten, he was master of several of the Greek and Roman poets, and understood Homer perfectly. At the age of twelve or thirteen, he gave an edition of *Anacreon*, with learned annotations. Some writers allege, that he had imbibed the voluptuous spirit of that poet, and that his subsequent application to the study of theology in the *Sorbonne* did not extinguish it entirely. They also attribute his conversion to a singular incident. They tell us, that returning from the country, after six weeks absence from a lady whom he loved passionately (and not in vain), he went directly to her chamber by a back stair, without having the patience to make any previous enquiry about her health and situation. On opening the door, he found the chamber iluminated, and hung with black;—and, on approaching the bed—saw the most hideous spectacle that could be presented to his eyes, and the most adapted to mortify passion, inspire horror, and engender the gloom of melancholy devotion, in a mind too lively and too much agitated to improve this shocking change to the purposes of rational piety; he saw his fair mistress in her shroud—dead of the small pox—all her charms fled—and succeeded by the ghastly lines of death, and the frightful marks of that terrible disorder.—From that moment, it is said, our abbot retired from the world, repaired to *La Trappe*, the most gloomy, barren, and desolate spot in the whole kingdom of *France*, and there spent the forty last years of his life in perpetual acts of the most austere piety.

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nists had drawn upon themselves by the austerity of their monastic discipline; and yet his society observed the severe and laborious rule of the ancient Cistercians, whom they even surpassed in abstinence, mortifications, and self-denial. This Order still subsists, under the denomination of the *Reformed Bernardins of La Trappe*, and has several monasteries both in *Spain* and *Italy*; but, if credit may be given to the accounts of writers who seem to be well informed, it is degenerating gradually from the austere and painful discipline of its famous founder [*c*].

New monastic orders founded.

XXVIII. The Romish church, from whose prolific womb all the various forms of superstition issued forth in an amazing abundance, saw several new monastic establishments arise within its borders during this century. The greatest part of them we shall pass over in silence, and confine ourselves to the mention of those which have obtained some degree of fame, or at least made a certain noise in the world.

We begin with the *Fathers of the oratory of the Holy Jesus*, a famous Order, instituted by Cardinal Berulle, a man of genius and talents, who displayed his abilities with such success, in the service, both of state and church, that he was generally looked upon as equally qualified for shining in these very different spheres. This Order, which, both in the nature of its rules, and in the design of its establishment, seems to be in direct opposition to that of the Jesuits, was founded in the year 1613, has produced a considerable number of persons

[*c*] Marsolier, "Vie de l'Abbe de la Trappe," published at *Paris* in 1702 in 4to, and in 1703 in 2 vols, 12mo.—Meaupou, "Vie de M. l'Abbe de la Trappe," published at *Paris* in 2 vols. 8vo, in 1702.—Felibien, "Description de l'Abbaye de la Trappe," published at *Paris* in 1671.—Helyot, "Histoire des Ordres," tom. vi. chap. i. p. 1.

sons eminent for their piety, learning, and eloquence, and still maintains its reputation in this respect. Its members however have, on account of certain theological productions, been suspected of introducing new opinions; and this suspicion has not only been raised, but is also industriously fomented and propagated by the Jesuits. The priests who enter into this society are not obliged to renounce their property or possessions, but only to refuse all ecclesiastical cures or offices to which any fixed revenues or honours are annexed, as long as they continue members of this fraternity, from which they are, however, at liberty to retire whenever they think proper [*d*]. While they continue in the Order they are bound to perform with the greatest fidelity and accuracy, all the priestly functions, and to turn the whole bent of their zeal and industry to one single point, even the preparing and qualifying themselves and others for discharging them daily with greater perfection, and more abundant fruits. If, therefore, we consider this Order in the original end of its institution, its convents may, not improperly be called the schools of *sacerdotal divinity* [*e*]. It is nevertheless to be observed, that in later times, the

☞ [*d*] The *Fathers* or *Priests* (as they are also called) *of the oratory,* are not, properly speaking, *religious,* or monks, being bound by no *vows,* and their institute being purely ecclesiastical or sacerdotal.

[*e*] See Habert de Cerisi, "Vie du Cardinal Berulle, fondateur de l'Oratoire de Jesus," published at *Paris* in 4to in the year 1646—Morini, "Vita Antiq." prefixed to his Orientalia, p. 3, 4, 5. 110.—R. Simon, *Lettres Choises,* tom. ii. p. 60. et "Bibliotheque Critique (published under the fictitious name of Saint Jorre") tom. iii. p. 303, 324, 330. For an account of the genius and capacity of Berulle, see Baillee, "Vie de Richer," p. 220.—342.—Le Vassor, "Histoire de Louis XIII." tom. iii. p. 397.—Helyot, "Histoire des Ordres," tom. viii. chap. x. p. 53.—"Gallia Christiana Benedictinor," tom. vii. p. 976.

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the Fathers of the Oratory have not confined themselves to this single object, but have imperceptibly extended their original plan, and applied themselves to the study of polite literature and theology, which they teach with reputation in their colleges [*f*].

After these *Fathers*, the next place is due to the *Priests of the Missions*, an order founded by Vincent de Paul (who has obtained, not long ago, the honours of saintship,) and formed into a regular congregation, in the year 1632, by Pope Urban VIII. The rule prescribed to this society, by its founder, lays its members under the three following obligations: *First*, to purify themselves, and to aspire daily to higher degrees of sanctity and perfection, by prayer, meditation, the perusal of pious books, and other devout exercises: *Secondly*, to employ eight months in the year in the villages, and, in general, among the country-people, in order to instruct them in the principles of religion, form them to the practice of piety and virtue, accommodate their differences, and administer consolation and relief to the sick and indigent: *Thirdly*, to inspect and govern the seminaries in which persons designed for holy orders receive their education, and to instruct the candidates for the ministry in the sciences that relate to their respective vocations [*g*].

The *Priests of the Missions* were also intrusted with the direction and government of a Female Order called *Virgins of Love*, or *Daughters of Charity*, whose office it was to administer assistance and

☞ [*f*] *The Fathers of the Oratory* will now be obliged, in a more particular manner, to extend their plan; since, by the suppression of the Jesuits in *France*, the education of youth is committed to them.

[*g*] Abely *Vie de* Vincent de Paul, published in 4to at *Paris* in 1664.—Helyot, *loc. cit.* tom. viii. chap. xi. p. 64.—*Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 998.

and relief to indigent persons, who were confined to their beds by sickness and infirmity. This Order was founded by a noble virgin, whose name was Louisa le Gras, and received, in the year 1660, the approbation of Pope Clement IX. [*h*].—*The Brethren and Sisters of the pious and Christian schools,* who are now commonly called *Pietists,* were formed into a society in the year 1678, by Nicholas Barre, and obliged, by their engagements, to devote themselves to the education of poor children of both sexes [*i*]. It would be endless to mention all the religious societies which rose and fell, were formed by fits of zeal, and dissolved by external incidents, or by their own internal principles of instability and decay.

The society of Jesuits.

XXIX. If the *Company of Jesus,* so called, which may be considered as the soul of the papal hierarchy, and the main spring that directs its motions, had not been invincible, it must have sunk under the attacks of those formidable enemies that, during the course of this century assailed it on all sides and from every quarter. When we consider the multitude of the adversaries the *Jesuits* had to encounter, the heinous crimes with which they were charged, the innumerable affronts they received, and the various calamities in which they were involved, it must appear astonishing that they yet subsist; and still more so, that they enjoy any degree of public esteem, and are not, on the contrary, sunk in oblivion, or covered with infamy. In *France, Holland, Poland,* and *Italy,* they experienced, from time to time, the bitter effects of a warm and vehement

[*h*] Gobillon, *Vie de Madame* De Gras, *Fondatrice des Filles de la Charite,* published in 12mo at *Paris,* in the year 1576.

[*i*] Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres,* tom. viii. chap. xxx. p. 233.

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vehement opposition, and were, both in public and private, accused of the greatest enormities, and charged with maintaining pestilential errors and maxims, that were equally destructive of the temporal and eternal interests of mankind, by their tendency to extinguish the spirit of true religion, and to trouble the order and peace of civil society. The Jansenists, and all who espoused their cause, distinguished themselves more especially in this opposition. They composed an innumerable multitude of books, in order to cover the sons of Loyola with eternal reproach, and to expose them to the hatred and scorn of the whole universe. Nor were these productions mere defamatory libels dictated by malice alone, or pompous declamations, destitute of arguments and evidence. On the contrary, they were attended with the strongest demonstration, being drawn from undeniable facts, and confirmed by unexceptionable testimonies [*k*]. Yet

[*k*] An account of this opposition to, and of these contests with the Jesuits, would furnish matter for many volumes; since there is scarcely any Roman Catholic country which has not been the theatre of violent divisions between the sons of Loyola, and the magistrates, monks, or doctors, of the Romish Church. In these contests, the Jesuits seemed almost always to be vanquished; and nevertheless, in the issue, they always came victorious from the field of controversy. A Jansenist writer, proposed, some years ago, to collect into one relation the accounts of these contests that lie dispersed in a multitude of books, and to give a complete history of this famous Order. The first volume of his work accordingly appeared at *Utrecht* in the year 1741, was accompanied with a curious *Preface*, and entitled, "Histoire des Religieux de la Campagnie de Jesus." If we may give credit to what this author tells us of the voyages he undertook, the dangers and difficulties he encountered, and the number of years he spent in investigating the proceedings, and in detecting the frauds and artifices of the Jesuits, we must certainly be persuaded, that no man could be better qualified for composing the history of this insidious Order. But this good man, returning imprudently into *France*, was discovered by his exasperated enemies the Jesuits, and is said

Yet all this was far from overturning that fabric of profound and insidious policy which the Jesuits had raised, under the protection of the Roman pontiffs, and the connivance of deluded princes and nations. It seemed, on the contrary, as if the opposition of such a multitude of enemies and accusers had strengthened their interest instead

said to have perished miserably by their hands. Hence not above a third part of his intended work was either published or finished for the press. ☞ Some things may be added, both by way of correction and illustration, to what Dr. Mosheim has here said concerning the history of the Jesuits and its author. In the *first place*, its author or compiler is still alive, resides at the Hague, passes by the name of Benard, is supposed to be a Jansenist, and a relation of the famous Father Quenel, whom the Jesuits persecuted with such violence in France. He is a native of France, and belonged to the oratory. It is also true, that he went thither from Holland several years ago; and it was believed, that he had fallen a victim to the resentment of the Jesuits, until his return to the Hague proved that report false. *Secondly*, This history is carried no farther down than the year 1572, notwithstanding the express promises and engagements by which our author bound himself, four and twenty years ago (in the Preface to his first volume), to publish the whole in a very short time, declaring that it was ready for the press. This suspension is far from being honourable to Mr. Benard, who is still living at the Hague, and consequently at full liberty to accomplish his promise. This has made some suspect, that though Mr. Benard is too much out of the Jesuits reach to be influenced by their threatenings, he is not, however, too far from them to be moved by the eloquence of their promises, or stedfast enough to stand out against the *weighty* remonstrances they may have employed to prevent the further publication of his history. It may be observed, *thirdly*, that the character of a traveller, who has studied the manners and conduct of the Jesuits in the most remarkable scenes of their transactions in Europe, and the other parts of the globe, is here assumed by Mr. Benard as the most pleasing manner of conveying the accounts which he compiled in his closet. These accounts do not appear to be false, though the character of a traveller, assumed by the compiler, be fictitious. It must be allowed, on the contrary, that Mr. Benard has drawn his relations from good sources, though his style and manner cannot well be justified from the charge of acrimony and malignity.

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instead of diminishing it, and added to their affluence and prosperity instead of bringing on their destruction. Amidst the storm that threatened them with a fatal shipwreck, they directed their course with the utmost dexterity, tranquillity and prudence. Thus they got safe into the desired harbour, and arose to the very summit of spiritual authority in the church of *Rome*. Avoiding rather than repelling the assaults of their enemies, opposing for the most part patience and silence to their redoubled insults, they proceeded uniformly and stedfastly to their great purpose, and they seemed to have attained it. For those very nations who formerly looked upon a Jesuit as a kind of monster, and as a public pest, commit, at this day, some through necessity, some through choice, and others through both, a great part of their interests and transactions to the direction of this most artful and powerful society [*l*].

XXX. All

[*l*] It may perhaps be affirmed with truth, that none of the Roman Catholic nations attacked the Jesuits with more vehemence and animosity than the French have done upon several occasions; and it is certain, that the Jesuits in that kingdom have been, more than once, involved in great difficulties and distress. To be convinced of this, the reader has only to consult Du Boulay's *Historia Academie Parisiensis*, tom. vi. p. 559, 648, 676, 738, 742, 744, 763, 774, 874, 890, 898, 909, in which he will find an ample and accurate account of the resolutions and transactions of the Parliament and university of Paris, and also of the proceedings of the people in general, to the detriment of this artful and dangerous society. But what was the final issue of all these resolutions and transactions, and in what did all this opposition end? I answer, in the exaltation and grandeur of the Jesuits. They had been banished with ignominy out of the kingdom, and were recalled from their exile, and honourably restored to their former credit in the year 1604, under the reign of Henry IV. notwithstanding the remonstrances of many persons of the highest rank and dignity, (who were shocked beyond expression at this unaccountably mean and ignoble step. See *Memoires de* Sully (the modern edition published at Geneva), tom. v. p. 83, 314.

After

XXX. All the different branches of literature received, during this century, in the more polished Roman-Catholic countries, a new degree of lustre and improvement. *France, Spain, Italy,* and the *Netherlands,* produced several men eminent for their genius, erudition, and acquaintance with the learned languages. This happy circumstance must not, however, be attributed to the labour of the schools, or to the methods and procedure of public education; for, the old, dry, perplexing, inelegant, scholastic method of instruction prevailed then, and indeed still takes place in both the higher and lower seminaries of learning; and it is the peculiar tendency of this method to damp genius, to depress, instead of exciting and encouraging, the generous efforts of the mind towards the pursuit of truth, and to load the memory with a multitude of insignificant words and useless distinctions. It was beyond the borders of these pedantic seminaries, that genius was encouraged, and directed by great and eminent patrons of science, who opened new paths to the attainment of solid learning, and presented the sciences under a new and engaging aspect to the studious youth. It must be observed here, in justice to the French, that they bore a distinguished part in this literary reformation.—Excited by their native force of genius, and animated by the encouragement that learning and learned men received from the munificence of Lewis XIV. they cultivated with success almost all the various branches of literature, and, rejecting the barbarous jargon of the schools, exhibited

The state of learning in the church of Rome.

After that period, they moved the main-springs of government both in church and state, and still continue to sit, though invisibly at the helm of both. ☞ The reader must again be advertised, that this note was written by Dr. Mosheim some years before the suppression of the society of the Jesuits in France.

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learning under an elegant and alluring form, and thereby multiplied the number of its votaries and patrons [*m*]. It is well known how much the example and labours of this polite nation contributed to deliver other countries from the yoke of scholastic bondage.

The state of philosophy.

XXXI. The Aristotelians of this century were a set of intricate dialecticians, who had the name of the Stagirite always in their mouths, without the least portion of his genius, or any tolerable knowledge of his system; and they maintained their empire in the schools, notwithstanding the attempts that had been made to diminish their credit. It was long before the court of *Rome*, which beheld with terror whatever bore the smallest aspect of novelty, could think of consenting to the introduction of a more rational philosophy, or permit the modern discoveries in that noble science to be explained with freedom in the public seminaries of learning. This appears sufficiently from the fate of Galilei, the famous mathematician of *Florence*, who was cast into prison by the court of *Inquisition*, for adopting the sentiments of Copernicus, in relation to the constitution of the solar system. It is true, indeed, that Des Cartes and Gassendi [*n*], the one by his new philosophy, and the other by his admirable writings, gave a mortal wound to the Peripatetics, and excited a spirit of liberty and emulation that changed the face of science in *France*. It was under the auspicious influence of these adventurous guides, that several eminent men of that nation abandoned

[*m*] For an ample account of this matter, see Voltaire's *Siecle de* Louis XIV. and more especially the chapter in the second volume relative to the arts and sciences.

[*n*] See Gassendi *Exercitationes Paradoxæ adversus Aristoteleos, Operum*, tom. iii. This subtile and judicious work contributed, perhaps, more than any thing else, to hurt the cause, and ruin the credit, of the Peripatetics.

ed the perplexed and intricate wilds of the philosophy that was taught by the modern Aristotelians; and throwing off the shackles of mere authority, dared to consult the dictates of reason and experience, in the study of nature, and in the investigation of truth. Among these converts to true philosophy, several *Jesuits*, and a still greater number of *Jansenists* and *Priests of the Oratory*, distinguished themselves; and, accordingly, we find in this list the respectable names of Malebranche, Arnauld, Lami, Nicole, Pascal, who acquired immortal fame by illustrating and improving the doctrine of Des Cartes, and accommodating it to the purposes of human life [*o*]. The modesty, circumspection, and self-diffidence of Gassendi, who confessed the scanty measure of his knowledge, and pretended to no other merit than that of pointing out a rational method of arriving at truth, while others boasted that they had already found it out, rendered him disagreeable in *France*. The ardent curiosity, the fervour, precipitation, and impatience of that lively people, could not bear the slow and cautious method of proceeding that was recommended by the cool wisdom of this prudent inquirer. They wanted to get at the summit of philosophy, without climbing the steps that lead to it.

[*o*] These great men were, indeed, very ill treated by the Peripatetics, on account of their learned and excellent labours. They were accused by these exasperated scholastics of irreligion, and were even charged with atheism by Father Hardoun, who was really intoxicated with the large draughts he had taken from the muddy fountains of Peripatetic and Scholastic science. See his *Athei Detecti*, in his *Opp. Posthum.* p. 1. and 1259.— It is easy to perceive the reasons of all this resentment; since the Cartesian system, which aimed at restoring the authority of reason and the light of true philosophy, was by no means so proper to defend the pretensions of Rome and the cause of Popery as the dark and intricate jargon of the Peripatetics.

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Towards the conclusion of this century, many eminent men, in *Italy* and in other countries, followed the example of the French, in throwing off the yoke of the Peripatetics, and venturing into the paths that were newly opened for the investigation of truth. This desertion of the old philosophy was at first attended with that timorousness and secresy that arose from apprehensions of the displeasure and resentment of the court of *Rome;* but, as soon as it was known that the Roman pontiffs beheld with less indignation and jealousy the new discoveries in metaphysics, mathematics, and natural philosophy, then the deserters broke their chains with greater confidence, and proceeded with greater freedom and boldness in the pursuit of truth.

The respective merit of Jesuits, Benedictines, Priests of the Oratory, and Jansenists, in the cultivation of sacred and profane literature.

XXXII. After this general account of the state of learning in the Roman-Catholic countries, it will not be improper to point out, in a more particular manner, those of the Romish writers, who contributed most to the propagation and improvement both of sacred and profane erudition during the course of this century. The Jesuits were for a long time, not only possessed of an undisputed pre-eminence in this respect, but were, moreover, considered, as almost the sole fountains of universal knowledge, and the only religious Order that made any figure in the literary world. And it must be confessed by all, who are not misled by want of candour or of proper information, that this famous society was adorned by many persons of uncommon genius and learning. The names of Petau, Sirmond, Poussines, Labbe, and Abram, will live as long as letters shall be held in honour; and even that of Hardouin, notwithstanding the singularity of his disordered fancy, and the extravagance of many of his opinions, will escape oblivion.

It

It is at the same time to be observed, that the literary glory of the Jesuits suffered a remarkable eclipse, during the course of this century, from the growing lustre of the *Benedictine* Order, and more especially of the *Congregation of St. Maur*. The Jesuits were perpetually boasting of the eminent merit and lustre of their *society* on the one hand, and exposing, on the other, to public contempt, the ignorance and stupidity of the Benedictines, who, indeed, formerly made a very different figure from what they do at present. Their view in this was to form a plausible pretext for invading the rights of the latter, and engrossing their ample revenues and possessions; but the Benedictines resolved to disconcert this insidious project, to wipe off the reproach of ignorance that had heretofore been cast upon them with too much justice, and to disappoint the rapacious avidity of their enemies, and rob them of their pretexts. For this purpose they not only erected schools in their monasteries, for the instruction of youth in the various branches of learning and science, but also employed such of their select members, as were distinguished by their erudition and genius, in composing a variety of learned productions, that were likely to survive the waste of time, adapted to vindicate the honour of the fraternity, and to reduce its enemies to silence. This important task has been executed with incredible ability and success by Mabillon, D'Achery, Massuet, Ruinart, Beaugendre, Garnier, De la Rue, Martene, Montfaucon, and other eminent men of that learned Order. It is to these Benedictines that we are indebted for the best editions of the Greek and Latin fathers; for the discovery of many curious records and ancient documents, that throw a new light upon the history of remote ages, and upon the antiquities of various countries; for the best accounts of

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ancient transactions, whether ecclesiastical or political, and of the manners and customs of the earliest times; for the improvement of chronology, and other branches of literature. In all these parts of philology and *Belles Lettres*, the religious order now under consideration, has shone with a distinguished lustre, and given specimens of their knowledge, discernment, and industry, that are worthy of being transmitted to the latest posterity. It would be perhaps difficult to assign a reason for that visible decline of learning among the Jesuits, that commenced precisely at that very period when the Benedictines began to make this eminent figure in the republic of letters. The fact, however, is undeniable; and the Jesuits have long been at a loss to produce any one or more of their members who are qualified to dispute the pre-eminence, or even to claim an equality, with the Benedictines. The latter still continue to shine in the various branches of philology, and, almost, every year, enrich the literary world with productions that furnish abundant proofs of their learning and industry; whereas, if we except a single work, published by the Jesuits of *Antwerp*, many years have passed since the sons of Loyola have given any satisfactory proofs of their boasted learning, or added to the *mass* of literature any work worthy to be compared with the *labours* of the followers of Benedict.

These learned monks excited the emulation of the *Priests of the Oratory*, whose efforts to resemble them were far from being destitute of success. Several members of this latter Order distinguished themselves by their remarkable proficiency in various branches both of sacred and profane literature. This, to mention no more examples, appears sufficiently from the writings of Morin, Thomassin, and Simon, and from that admirable work

work of Charles de Cointe, entitled, *The Ecclesiastical Annals of France.* The *Jansenists* also deserve a place in the list of those who cultivated letters with industry and success. Many of their productions abound with erudition, nay, several of them excel both in elegance of style and precision of method; and it may be said, in general, that their writings were eminently serviceable in the instruction of youth, and also proper to contribute to the progress of learning among persons of riper years. The writings of those who composed the community of *Port-Royal* [*p*], the works of Tillemont, Arnauld, Nicole, Pascal, and Lancelot, with many other elegant and useful productions of persons of this class, were undoubtedly an ornament to French literature during this century. The other religious societies, the higher and lower orders of the clergy, had also among them men of learning and genius that reflected a lustre upon the respective classes to which they belonged. Nor ought this to be a matter of admiration; since nothing is more natural than that, in an immense multitude of monks and clergy, all possessed of abundant leisure for study, and of the best opportunities of improvement, there should be some who, unwilling to hide or throw away such a precious talent, would employ with success this leisure, and these opportunities in the culture of the sciences. It is nevertheless certain, that the eminent men who were to be found beyond the limits of the four classes

[*p*] *Messieurs de Port-Royal* was a general denomination which comprehended all the Jansenist writers, but was however applied, in a more confined and particular sense, to those Jansenists who passed their days in pious exercises and literary pursuits in the retreat of Port-Royal, a mansion situated at a little distance from Paris. It is well known, that several writers of superior genius, extensive learning, and uncommon eloquence, resided in this sanctuary of letters.

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classes already mentioned [*q*], were few in number, comparatively speaking, and scarcely exceeded the list that any of these classes was able to furnish.

The principal authors of the Romish communion.

XXXIII. Hence it comes, that the church of *Rome* can produce a long list of writers that have arisen in its bosom, and acquired a shining and permanent reputation, by their learned productions. At the head of the eminent authors which we find among the monastic orders and the *regular* clergy, must be placed the Cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine, who have obtained an immortal name in their church, the one by his laborious *Annals*, and the other by his books of Controversy. The other writers that belong to this class, are—Serrarius—Fevardentius—Possevin—Gretser—Combefis—Natalis Alexander—Becan—Sirmond—Petau—Poussines—Cellot—Caussin—Morin—Renaud—Fra-Paolo—Pallavicini—Labbe—Maimburg—Thomassin—Sfondrat—Aguirre—Henry Norris—D'Achery—Mabillon—Hardouin—Simon—Ruinart—Montfaucon—Galloni—Scacchi—Cornelius a Lapide—Bonfrere—Menard—Seguenot—Bernard—Lamy—Bolland—Henschen—Papebroch—and others.

The principal among the *secular clergy*, who are neither bound by vows, nor attached to any peculiar community and rules of discipline, were—Perron—Estius—Launoy—Albaspinæus—Petrus de Marca—Richlieu—Holstenius—Baluze—Bona—Huet—Bossuet—Fenelon—Godeau—Tillemont—Thiers—Du Pin—Leo Allatius—Zaccagni—Cotelier—Filesac—Visconti—&c. [*r*]. This list

[*q*] The Jesuits, Benedictines, priests of the Oratory, and Jansenists.

[*r*] For a particular account of the respective merit of the writers here mentioned, see among other literary historians, Du Pin's *Histoire des Ecrivains Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xvii. xviii. xix.

list might be considerably augmented by adding to it those writers among the laity who distinguished themselves by their theological or literary productions.

The doctrine of the church of Rome still more corrupt than in the preceding ages.

XXXIV. If we take an accurate view of the religious system of the Romish church during this century, both with respect to articles of faith and rules of practice, we shall find that, instead of being improved by being brought somewhat nearer to that perfect model of doctrine and morals that is exhibited to us in the Holy Scriptures, it had contracted new degrees of corruption and degeneracy in most places, partly by the negligence of the Roman pontiffs, and partly by the dangerous maxims and influence of the Jesuits. This is not only the observation of those who have renounced the Romish communion, and in the despotic style of that church are called *heretics*; it is the complaint of the wisest and worthiest part of that communion, of all its members who have a zeal for the advancement of true Christian knowledge and genuine piety.

As to the *doctrinal* part of the Romish religion, it is said, and not without foundation, to have suffered extremely in the hands of the Jesuits, who, under the connivance, nay sometimes by the immediate assistance of the Roman pontiffs, have perverted and corrupted such of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as were left entire by the council of *Trent*. There are not wanting proofs sufficient to support this charge; inasmuch as the subtile and insidious fathers have manifestly endeavoured to diminish the authority and importance of the Holy Scriptures, have extolled the power of human nature, changed the sentiments of many with respect to the necessity and efficacy of divine grace, represented the mediation and sufferings of Christ as less powerful and meritorious

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rious than they are said to be in the sacred writings, turned the Roman pontiff into a terrestrial Deity, and put him almost upon an equal footing with the Divine Saviour; and, finally rendered, as far as in them lies, the truth of the Christian religion dubious, by their fallacious reasonings, and their subtile but pernicious sophistry. The testimonies brought to support these accusations by men of weight and merit, particularly among the Jansenists, are of very great authority, and it is extremely difficult to refuse our assent to them, when they are impartially examined; but, on the other hand, it may be easily proved, that the Jesuits, instead of inventing these pernicious doctrines, did no more in reality, than propagate them as they found them in that ancient form of the Romish religion that preceded the Reformation, and was directly calculated to raise the authority of the Pope, and the power and prerogatives of the Romish church to the very highest pitch of despotic grandeur. To inculcate this form of doctrine was the direct vocation of the Jesuits, who were to derive all their credit, opulence, and influence, from their being considered as the main support of the papacy, and the peculiar favourites of the Roman pontiffs. If the ultimate end and purpose of these pontiffs were to render the church more pure and holy, and to bring it as near as possible to the resemblance of its Divine Founder, and if this were the commission they gave to their favourite emissaries and doctors, then the Jesuits would be at liberty to preach a very different doctrine from what they now inculcate. But that liberty cannot be granted to them as long as their principal orders from the papal throne are, to use all their diligence and industry, to the end that the pontiffs may hold what they have acquired, and recover what they have

have lost; and that the bishops and ministers of the Romish church may daily see their opulence increase, and the limits of their authority extended and enlarged. The chief crime then of the Jesuits is really this, that they have explained, with more openness and perspicuity, those points which the leading managers in the council of *Trent* had either entirely omitted, or slightly mentioned, that they might not shock the friends of true religion, who composed a part of that famous assembly. And here we see the true reason why the Roman pontiffs, notwithstanding the ardent solicitations and remonstrances that have been employed to arm their just severity against the Jesuits, have always maintained that artful Order, and have been so deaf to the accusations of their adversaries, that no entreaties have been able to persuade them to condemn their religious principles and tenets, however erroneous in their nature, and pernicious in their effects. On the contrary, the court of *Rome* has always opposed, either in a public or clandestine manner, all the vigorous measures that have been used to procure the condemnation and suppression of the doctrine of the *Loyolites;* and the Roman pontiffs have constantly treated all such attempts as the projects of rash and imprudent men, who, through involuntary ignorance or obstinate prejudice, were blind to the true interest of the church.

The foundations of morality sapped by the Jesuits

XXXV. In the sphere of morals, the Jesuits made still more dreadful and atrocious inroads than in that of religion. Did we affirm, that they have perverted and corrupted almost all the various branches and precepts of morality, we should not express sufficiently the pernicious tendency of their maxims. Were we to go still further, and maintain, that they have sapped and destroyed its very foundations, we should maintain no more than

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than what innumerable writers of the Romish church abundantly testify, and what many of the most illustrious communities of that church publicly lament. Those who bring this dreadful charge against the sons of Loyola, have taken abundant precautions to vindicate themselves against the reproach of calumny in this matter. They have published several maxims, inconsistent with all regard for virtue and even decency, which they have drawn from the moral writings of that Order, and more especially from the numerous productions of its *Casuists.* They observe, more particularly, that the whole society adopts and inculcates the following maxims:

"That persons *truly wicked* and *void of the* "*love of God,* may expect to obtain *eternal life* in "heaven, provided that they be impressed with a "fear of the Divine anger, and avoid all heinous "and enormous crimes *through the dread of future* "*punishment:*

"That those persons may transgress *with safety,* "who have a *probable reason* for transgressing, "*i. e.* any plausible argument or authority in fa"vour of the sin they are inclined to commit [*s*]:

"That

[*s*] This is one of the most corrupt and most dangerous maxims of the Jesuits. On the one hand, they have among them doctors of different characters and different principles, that thus they may render their society recommendable in the eyes of all sorts of persons, the licentious as well as the austere. On the other, they maintain, that an opinion or practice, recommended by any one doctor, becomes thereby probable, as it is not to be supposed, that a learned divine would adopt an opinion, or recommend a practice, in favour of which no considerable reason could be alleged.—But here lies the poison: this probable opinion or practice *may* be followed, say the Jesuits, even when the contrary is still more probable, nay, when it is *sure,* because, though the man err, he errs under the authority of an eminent doctor. Thus Escober affirms, that a judge may decide in favour of that side of a question that is the least probable, and even against his own opinion, if he be supported by any tolerable authority. See *Lettres Provinciales,* Letter viii.

"That actions *intrinsically evil*, and directly "*contrary to the divine laws*, may be *innocently* "performed, by those who have so much power "over their own minds, as to join, even ideally, "a *good end* to this *wicked action*, or (to speak in "the style of the Jesuits) who are capable of *di-* "*recting their attention aright* [*t*].

"That *philosophical sin* is of a very light and "trivial nature, and does not deserve the pains of "hell:—(By *philosophical sin* the Jesuits mean *an action contrary to the dictates of nature and right reason*, done by a person who is ignorant of the written law of God, or doubtful [*u*] of its true meaning.)

"That

☞ [*t*] For example, an ecclesiastic who buys a benefice, in order to direct his intention aright, must, by a powerful act of abstraction, turn away his thoughts from the crime of simony, which he is committing, to some lawful purpose, such as that of acquiring an ample subsistence, or that of doing good by instructing the ignorant. Thus again, a man who runs his neighbour through the body in a duel, on account of a trivial affront, to render his action lawful, has only to turn his thoughts from the principle of vengeance, to the more decent principle of honour, and the murder he commits will, by the magic power of Jesuitical morality, be converted into an innocent action. There is no crime, no enormity, to which this abominable maxim may not be extended. "A famous Jesuit has declared, that a son may wish for the death of his father, and even rejoice at it when it arrives, provided that his wish does not arise from any personal hatred, but only from a desire of the patrimony which this death will procure him." See Gaspard Hurtado, *De sub. peccat. diff.* 9. quoted by Diana, p. 5. tr. 14. R. 99. and another has had the effrontery to maintain, that a monk or ecclesiastic may lawfully assassinate a calumniator, who threatens laying scandalous crimes to the charge of their community, when there is no other way of hindering him to execute his purpose. See the works of Father L'amy, tom. v. disp. 36. n. 118.

[*u*] It would be perhaps more accurate to define the philosophical sin of the Jesuits to be "an action contrary to right reason, which is done by a person who is either absolutely ignorant of God, or does not think of him during the time this action is committed."

"That the transgressions committed by a person blinded by the seduction of lust, agitated "by the impulse of tumultuous passions, and destitute of all sense and impression of religion, "however detestable and heinous they may be "in themselves, are not imputable to the transgressor before the tribunal of God; and that "such transgressions may often be as involuntary "as the actions of a madman:

"That the person who takes an oath, or enters "into a contract, may, to elude the force of the "one, and the obligation of the other, add to the "form of words that express them, certain mental additions and tacit reservations."

These, and other enormities of a like nature [*w*], are said to make an essential part of the system

[*w*] The books that have been written to expose and refute the corrupt and enormous maxims of the Jesuits, would make an ample library, were they collected together. But nothing of this kind is equal to the learned, ingenious and humorous work of the famous Pascal, entitled, "Le Provinciales, ou Lettres ecrites par Louis de Montalte á un Provincial, de ces amis et aux Jesuits, sur la morale et la Politique de ces Peres." This exquisite production is accompanied, in some editions of it, with the learned and judicious observations of Nicole, who, under the fictitious name of Guillaume Wenderock, has fully demonstrated the truth of those facts which Pascal had advanced without quoting his authorities, and has placed in a full, and striking light, several interesting circumstances which that great man had treated with, perhaps, too much brevity. These letters, which did the Jesuits more real mischief than either the indignation of sovereign princes, or any other calamity that had heretofore fallen upon their order, were translated into Latin by Rachelius. On the other hand, the sons of Loyola, sensibly affected and alarmed by this formidable attack upon their reputation, left no means unemployed to defend themselves against such a respectable adversary. They sent forth their ablest champions to defend their cause, or, at least, to cover them from shame; among which champions the subtile and eloquent Father Daniel, the celebrated author of the History of France, shone forth with a superior lustre: and, as if they thought it unsafe to trust to the powers of argument, and the force of evidence alone, they applied themselves

system of morality inculcated by the Jesuits. And they were complained of, in the strongest remonstrances, themselves for help to the secular arm, and had credit enough to obtain a sentence against the *Provincials*, by which they were condemned to be burnt publicly at *Paris*. See Daniel's *Opuscules*, vol. i. p. 363. This author, however, acknowledges that the greatest part of the answers which the Jesuits opposed to the performance of Pascal were weak and unsatisfactory. Certain it is, that (whether it was owing to the strength of argument, or to the elegant wit and humour that reigned in them) the *Provincial Letters* lost not the smallest portion of their credit and reputation by all the answers that were made to them, but continued to pass through a variety of editions which could scarcely be printed off with rapidity sufficient to satisfy the desires of the public.

Another severe attack was made upon the Jesuits, in a book inferior to Pascal's in point of wit and genteel pleasantry, but superior to it in point of evidence, since it abounds with passages and testimonies, which are drawn from the most applauded writings of the Jesuits, and demonstrate fully the corruption and enormity of the moral rules and maxims inculcated by that famous Order. This book which was published at *Mons*, in three volumes 8vo, in the year 1702, bears the following title: *La Morale des Jesuites, extraite fidélement de leurs Livres, imprimée avec la permission et l'approbation des superieurs de leur Compagnie, par un Docteur de Sarbonne.* The author was Perrault (son of Charles Perrault, who began the famous controversy in *France* concerning the respective merits of the ancients and moderns), and his book met with the same fate with the *Provincials* of Pascal; for it was burnt at *Paris* in the year 1670, at the request of the Jesuits. See the *Opuscules du* P. Daniel, tom. i. p. 356. Nor indeed is it at all surprising, that the Jesuits exerted all their zeal against this compilation, which exhibited, in one shocking point of view, all that had been complained of and censured in their maxims and institutions, and unfolded the whole mystery of their iniquity.

It has been also laid to the charge of the Jesuits, that they reduced their pernicious maxims to practice, especially in the remoter parts of the world. This the famous Arnauld, together with some of his Jansenist brethren, have undertaken to prove in that laborious and celebrated work, entitled *La Morale Pratique des Jesuites.* In this important work, which consists of eight volumes in 8vo, and of which a second edition was published at *Amsterdam* in the year 1724, there is a multitude of authentic relations, documents, facts, and testimonies, employed to demonstrate the criminal conduct and

remonstrances, not only by the Dominicans and Jansenists, but also by the most eminent theological doctors of *Paris*, *Poitiers*, *Louvain*, and other academical cities, who expressed their abhorrence of them in such a public and solemn manner, that the Roman pontiff neither thought it safe nor honourable to keep silence on that head. Accordingly a part of these moral maxims were condemned, in the year 1659, by pope Alexander VII. in a public edict; and, in the year 1690, the article relating to *philosophical sin* met with the same fate, under the pontificate of Alexander VIII. [*x*]. It was but natural to think, that if the Order of Jesuits did not expire under the terrible blows it received from such a formidable list of adversaries, yet their system of morals must at least have been suppressed and their pestilential maxims banished from the schools. This is the least that could have been expected from the complaints and remonstrances of the clerical and monastic Orders, and the damnatory bulls of the Roman pontiffs. And yet, if we may credit the testimonies of many

practices of the Jesuits. For an ample account of the jesuitical doctrine concerning *Philosophical Sin*, and the dissensions and controversies it occasioned, see Jacobi Hyacinthi Serry * *Addenda ad Histor. Congregationum de Auxiliis*, p. 82; as also his *Auctarium*, p. 289.

[*x*] There is a concise and accurate account of the contests and divisions, to which the morality of the Jesuits gave rise in *France* and in other places, in a work, entitled *Catechisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations qui divisent maintenant l'Eglise* published in the year 1730. see tom. ii. p. 26.—It is very remarkable, that the two papal bulls of Alexander VII. and VIII. against the Jesuits are not to be found in the *Bullarium Pontificum*; but the Jansenists and Dominicans, who are careful in perpetuating whatever may tend to the dishonour of the Jesuits, have preserved them industriously from oblivion.

☞ * This is a fictitious name; the true name of the author of the Addenda is Augustin le Blanc.

many learned and pious men in the communion of *Rome*, even this effect was not produced; and the remonstrances of the monks, the complaints of the clergy, and the bulls of the popes, rather served to restrain in a certain measure, the enormous licentiousness, that had reigned among the writers of this corrupt Order, than to purify the seminaries of instruction from the contagion of their dissolute maxims.—After what has been observed in relation to the moral system of the Jesuits, it will not be difficult to assign a reason for the remarkable propensity that is discovered by kings, princes, the nobility, and gentry of both sexes, and an innumerable multitude of persons of all ranks and conditions, to commit their consciences to the direction, and their souls to the care of the brethren of this society. It is, no doubt, highly convenient for persons, who do not pretend to a rigid observance of the duties of religion and morality to have spiritual guides, who diminish the guilt of transgression, disguise the deformity of vice, let loose the reins to all the passions, nay, even nourish them by their dissolute precepts, and render the way to heaven as easy, as agreeable, and smooth as is possible [*y*].

What has here been said concerning the erroneous maxims and corrupt practices of the Jesuits must, however, be understood with certain modifications and restrictions. It must not be imagined, that these maxims are adopted, or these practices justified by all the sons of Loyola, without exception, or that they are publicly taught and inculcated in all their schools and seminaries; for this in reality, is not the case. As this Order has produced men of learning and genius, so neither has it been destitute of men of probity and candour; nor would it be a difficult

☞ [*y*] The translator has here inserted into the text the note [*q*] of the original.

task to compile from the writings of the Jesuits a much more just and proper representation of the duties of religion and the obligations of morality, than that hideous and unseemly exhibition of both, which Paschal and his followers have drawn from the Jesuitical Casuists, Summists, and Moralists. Those who censure the Jesuits in general, must, if their censures be well founded, have the following circumstances in view: *First*, That the rulers of that society not only suffer several of their members to propagate publicly impious opinions and corrupt maxims, but even go so far as to set the seal of their approbation to the books in which these opinions and maxims are contained [z]: *Secondly*, That the system of religion and morality that is taught in the greatest part of their seminaries is so loose, vague, and ill-digested, that it not only may be easily perverted to bad purposes and erroneous conclusions, but even seems peculiarly susceptible of such abuse: and lastly, that the select few, who are initiated into the grand mysteries of the society, and set apart to transact its affairs, to carry on its projects, to exert their political talents in the closet of the minister, or in the cabinet of the prince, commonly make use of the dangerous and pernicious maxims that are complained of, to augment the authority and opulence of their Order. The candour and impartiality that become an historian, oblige us to acknowledge, at the same time, that, in demonstrating the turpitude and enormity of certain maxims and opinions of the Jesuits, their adversaries have gone too far, and permitted their eloquence and zeal to run into exaggeration. This we

☞ [z] This is no doubt true. The Jesuits, as has been observed above, note [s], have doctors of all sorts and sizes; and this, indeed, is necessary, in order to the establishment of that universal empire at which they aim. See *Lettres Provinciales*, let. v. p. 62. *dixieme edit. de Cologne*, 1689.

we might shew, with the fullest evidence, by examples deduced from the doctrines of *probability* and *mental reservation*, and the imputations that have been made to the Jesuits on these heads; but this would lead us too far from the thread of our history. We shall only observe, that what happens frequently in every kind of controversy, happened here in a singular manner; I mean, that the Jesuits were charged with tenets, which had been drawn *consequentially* from their doctrine, by their accusers, without their consent;—that their phrases and terms were not always interpreted according to the precise meaning they annexed to them;—and that the tendency of their system was represented in too partial and unequitable a light.

The state of Exegetic theology, or the progress made in the interpretation and exposition of scripture.

XXXVI. The Holy Scriptures did not acquire any new degrees of public respect and authority under the pontiffs of this century. It can be proved, on the contrary, by the most authentic records, that the votaries of *Rome*, and more especially the Jesuits, employed all their dexterity and art, either to prevent the word of God from falling into the hands of the people, or at least to have it explained in a manner consistent with the interest, grandeur, and pretensions of the church. In *France* and in the *Low-Countries* there arose, indeed, several commentators and critics, who were very far from being destitute of knowledge and erudition; but it may nevertheless be said concerning them, that, instead of illustrating and explaining the divine oracles, they rendered them more obscure, by blending their own crude inventions with the dictates of celestial wisdom. This is chargeable even upon the Jansenists, who though superior to the other Roman-catholic expositors in most respects, yet fell into that absurd method of disfiguring the pure word of God, by far-fetched allusions, mystic inter-

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pretations, and frigid allegories, compiled from the reveries of the ancient fathers [*a*]. Here, nevertheless, an exception is to be made in favour of Pasquier Quenel, a priest of the oratory, whose edition of the *New Testament*, accompanied with pious meditations and remarks, made such a prodigious noise in the theological world [*b*], and even in our time has continued to furnish matter of warm and violent contest, and to split the Roman catholic doctors into parties and factions [*c*].

Of Didactic, moral, and Polemic Theology.

XXXVII. The greatest part of the public schools retained that dry, intricate, and captious method of teaching theology, that had prevailed in the ages of barbarism and darkness, and was adapted

[*a*] The reader will find a striking example of this in the well known Bible of Isaac le Maitre, commonly called Sacy, which contains all the crude and extravagant fancies and allegories, with which the ancient doctors obscured the beautiful simplicity of the Holy Scriptures, and rendered their clearest expressions intricate and mysterious.

☞ [*b*] That is, in the Roman Catholic part of the theological world. Never perhaps did any thing shew, in a more striking manner, the blind zeal of faction than the hard treatment this book met with. Renaudot, a very learned French abbot, who resided some time at Rome during the pontificate of Clement XI. went one day to visit that pontiff, who was a patron of learned men, and found him reading Quenel's Bible. On the abbot's entering the chamber, the pope accosted him thus: "Here is an admirable book! We have no body at Rome capable of writing in this manner. I would be glad if I could engage the author of it to reside here."—The very same pope that pronounced this encomium on Quenel's book, condemned it publicly afterwards, and employed all his authority to suppress it. See Voltaire, *Siécle de* Louis XIV. vol. ii. p. 293. *Edit. de Dresde*, 1753.

[*c*] The first of this work, which contains observations on the four Gospels, was published in the year 1671; and as it was received with universal applause, this encouraged the author, not only to revise and augment it, but also to enlarge his plan, and compose observations on the other books of the New Testament. See *Catechisme Historique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 150.—Ch. Eberh. Weismanni *Histor. Eccles.* Sæc. xvii. p. 588.

adapted to disgust all such as were endowed with a liberal turn of mind. There was no possibility of ordering matters so, as that *Didactic* or *Biblical theology*, which is supposed to arrange and illustrate the truths of religion by the dictates of Holy Scripture, should be placed upon the same footing and held in the same honour, with *scholastic divinity*, which had its source in the metaphysical visions of the peripatetic philosophy. Even the edicts of the pontiffs were insufficient to bring this about. In the greatest part of the universities, the *scholastic* doctors domineered, and were constantly molesting and insulting the *Biblical* divines, who, generally speaking, were little skilled in the captious arts of sophistry and dialectical chicane. It is nevertheless to be observed, that many of the French doctors, and more especially the Jansenists, explained the principal doctrines and duties of Christianity in a style and manner that were at least recommendable on account of their elegance and perspicuity; and indeed it may be affirmed, that almost all the theological or moral treatises of this age, that were composed with any tolerable degree of simplicity and good sense, had the doctors of *Port-Royal* or the French priests of the oratory, for their authors. We have already taken notice of the changes that were introduced, during this century, into the method of carrying on theological controversy. The German, Belgic, and French divines being at length convinced, by a disagreeable experience, that their captious, incoherent, and uncharitable manner of disputing, exasperated those who differed from them in their religious sentiments, and confirmed them in their respective systems, instead of converting them; and perceiving, moreover, that the arguments in which they had formerly placed their principal confidence, proved feeble and insufficient to make

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the least impression, found it necessary to look out for new and more specious methods of attack and defence.

The contests that arose under the pontificate of Clement VIII. between the Jesuits and Dominicans concerning the Divine Grace.

XXXVIII. The Romish church has, notwithstanding its boasted uniformity of doctrine, been always divided by a multitude of controversies. It would be endless to enumerate the disputes that have arisen between the seminaries of learning, and the contests that have divided the monastic Orders. The greatest part of these, as being of little moment, we shall pass over in silence; for they have been treated with indifference and neglect by the popes, who never took notice of them but when they grew violent and noisy, and then suppressed them with an imperious nod, that imposed silence upon the contending parties. Besides, these less momentous controversies, which it will never be impossible entirely to extinguish, are not of such a nature as to affect the church in its fundamental principles, to endanger its constitution, or to hurt its interests. It will, therefore, be sufficient to give a brief account of these debates, that, by their superior importance and their various connexions and dependencies, may be said to have affected the church in general, and to have threatened it with alarming changes and revolutions.

And here the first place is naturally due to those famous debates that were carried on between the *Jesuits* and *Dominicans*, concerning *the nature and necessity of Divine Grace*; the decision of which important point had, towards the conclusion of the preceding century, been committed by Clement VIII. to a select assembly of learned divines. These arbiters, after having employed several years in deliberating upon this nice and critical subject, and in examining the arguments of the contending parties, intimated, plainly enough, to the pontiff, that the sentiments of the Dominicans,

nicans, concerning *Grace*, *Predestination*, *Human Liberty*, and *Original Sin*, were more conformable to the doctrine of scripture and the decisions of the ancient fathers than the opinions of Molina, which were patronised by the Jesuits. They observed, more especially, that the former leaned towards the tenets of Augustine; while the latter bore a striking resemblance of the Pelagian heresy. In consequence of this declaration, Clement seemed resolved to pass condemnation on the Jesuits, and to determine the controversy in favour of the Dominicans. Things were in this state in the year 1601, when the Jesuits, alarmed at the dangers that threatened them, beset the old pontiff night and day, and so importuned him with entreaties, menaces, arguments, and complaints, that, in the year 1602, he consented to re-examine this intricate controversy, and undertook himself the critical task of principal arbitrator therein. For this purpose, he chose a council [*d*], (composed of fifteen cardinals, nine professors of divinity, and five bishops), which, during the space of three years [*e*], assembled seventy-eight times, or, to speak in the style of *Rome*, held so many *congregations*. At these meetings, the pontiff heard, at one time, the Jesuits and Dominicans disputing in favour of their respective systems; and ordered, at another, the assembled doctors to weigh their reasons, and examine the proofs that were ordered on both sides of this difficult question. The result of this examination is not known with any degree of certainty: since the death of Clement, which happened on the fourth day of March, in the year 1605, prevented his pronouncing a decisive sentence. The Dominicans

☞ [*d*] This council was called the congregation *de Auxiliis*.

[*e*] From the 20th of March 1602, to the 22d of January 1605.

minicans assure us, that the pope, had he lived, would have condemned Molina. The Jesuits, on the contrary, maintain, that he would have acquitted him publicly from all charge of heresy and error. They alone, who have seen the records of this council, and the journal of its proceedings, are qualified to determine which of the two we are to believe; but these records are kept with the utmost secresy at *Rome*.

Continuation of this controversy under Paul V. and its issue.

XXXIX. The proceedings of the *congregation* that had been assembled by Clement were suspended for some time, by the death of that pontiff; but they were resumed, in the year 1605, by the order of Paul V. his successor. Their deliberations, which were continued from the month of *September*, till the month of *March*, in the following year, did not turn so much upon the merits of the cause, which were already sufficiently examined, as upon the prudent and proper method of finishing the contest. The great question now was, whether the well-being of the church would admit of the decision of this controversy by a papal bull? and, if such a decision was found adviseable, it still remained to be considered, in what terms the bull should be drawn up. All these long and solemn deliberations resembled the delivery of the mountain in the fable, and ended in this resolution, that the whole controversy, instead of being *decided*, should be *suppressed;* and that each of the contending parties should have the liberty of following their respective opinions. The Dominicans assert, that the two pontiffs, together with the *congregation* of divines that they employed in the review of this important controversy, were entirely persuaded of the justice of *their* cause, and of the truth of *their* system; they moreover observe, that Paul V. had expressly ordered a solemn condemnation of the doctrine of the Jesuits to be drawn up; but was prevented

prevented from finishing and publishing it to the world, by the unhappy war that was kindled about that time between him and the Venetians. The Jesuits, on the other hand, represent these accounts of the Dominicans as entirely fictitious, and affirm that neither the pontiff, nor the more judicious and respectable members of the *congregation*, found any thing in the sentiments of Molina that was worthy of censure, or stood in much need of correction. In a point which is rendered thus uncertain by contradictory testimonies and assertions, it is difficult to determine what we are to believe; it however appears extremely probable, that, whatever the private opinion of Paul V. may have been, he was prevented from pronouncing a public determination of this famous controversy, by his apprehensions of offending either the king of *France*, who protected the Jesuits, or the king of *Spain*, who warmly maintained the cause of the Dominicans. It is farther probable, nay almost certain, that, had the pontiff been independent on all foreign influence, and at full liberty to decide this knotty point, he would have pronounced one of those *ambiguous* sentences, for which the oracle of *Rome* is so famous, and would have so conducted matters as to shock neither of the contending parties [*f*].

XL. The

[*f*] Besides the authors we have above recommended as proper to be consulted in relation to these contests, see Le Clerc, *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine sur la Predestination et sur la Grace,* in his *Bibliotheque Universelle, et Historique,* tom. xiv. p. 235.—The conduct, both of the Jesuits and Dominicans, after their controversy was hushed in silence, affords much reason to presume, that they had been both secretly exhorted by the Roman pontiff to mitigate somewhat their respective systems, and so to modify their doctrines or expressions, as to avoid the reproaches of heresy that had been cast upon them; for the Jesuits had been accused of Pelagianism, and the Dominicans of a propensity to the tenets of the Protestant churches. This appears, in a more particular

XL. The flame of controversy, which seemed thus extinguished, or at least covered, broke out again

The rise of Jansenism and the contests it produced.

ticular manner, from a letter written by Claudius Aquaviva, general of the Jesuits, in the year 1613, and addressed to all the members of his order. In this letter the prudent general modifies with great dexterity and caution the sentiments of Molina, and enjoins it upon the brethren of the society to teach every where the doctrine which represents the Supreme Being as electing, freely, to eternal life, without any regard had to their merits, those whom he has been pleased to render partakers of that inestimable blessing; but, at the same time, he exhorts them to inculcate this doctrine in such a manner, as not to give up the tenets relating to divine grace, which they had maintained in their controversy with the Dominicans. Never, surely, was such a contradictory exhortation or order heard of; the good general thought, nevertheless, that he could reconcile abundantly these contradictions, by that branch of the divine knowledge which is called by the schoolmen, *scientia media*. See the *Catéchisme Historique sur les dissentions de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 207.

On the other hand, the Dominicans, although their sentiments remain the same that they were before the commencement of this controversy, have learned, notwithstanding, to cast a kind of ambiguity and obscurity over their theological system, by using certain terms and espressions, that are manifestly borrowed from the schools of the Jesuits; and this they do to prevent the latter from reproaching them with a propensity to the doctrine of Calvin. They are, moreover, much less remarkable than formerly, for their zealous opposition, to the Jesuits, which may be owing perhaps to prudent reflections on the dangers they have been involved in by this opposition, and the fruitless pains and labour it has cost them. The Jansenists reproach them severely with this change of conduct, and consider it as a manifest and notorious apostasy from divine truth. See the *Lettres Provincales* of Pascal, lettr. ii. p. 27. *Edit. de Cologne*, &c. 1689.—We are not, however, to conclude, from this change of style and external conduct among the Dominicans, that they are reconciled to the Jesuits, and that there remain no traces of their ancient opposition to that perfidious order. By no means; for besides that, many of them are shocked at the excessive timidity and prudence of a great part of their brethren, the whole body retains still some hidden sparks of the indignation with which they formerly beheld the Jesuits; and, when a convenient occasion of discovering this indignation is offered, they do not let it pass unimproved. The Jansenists are here embarked in the same cause with the Dominicans;

again with new violence, in the year 1640, and formed a kind of schism in the church of *Rome*, which involved it in great perplexity, and proved highly detrimental to it in various respects. The occasion of these new troubles was the publication of a book, entitled, Augustinus, composed by Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of *Ypres*, and published after the death of the author [*g*]. In this book, which even the Jesuits acknowledge to be the production of a man of learning and piety, the doctrine of Augustine, concerning man's *natural corruption*, and the *nature* and *efficacy* of that *Divine Grace*, which alone can efface this unhappy stain, is unfolded at large, and illustrated, for the most part in Augustine's own words. For the end,

Dominicans; since the sentiments of St. Thomas, concerning *Divine Grace*, differ but very little from those of St. Augustine. Cardinal Henry Noris, the most eminently learned among the followers of the latter, expresses his concern, that he is not at liberty to publish what passed in favour of Augustine, and to the disadvantage of Molina and the Jesuits, in the famous Congregation *de Auxiliis*, so often assembled by the Popes Clement VIII. and Paul V. see his *Vindiciæ Augustinianæ*, cap. vi. p. 1175. tom. i. opp.—"Quando," says he, "recentiori Romano decreto id vetitum est, cum dispendio causæ, quam defendo, necessariam defensionem omitto."

[*g*] For an account of this famous man, see Bayle's *Dictionary*, tom. ii. at the article Jansenius.—Leydecker, *De vita et morte* Jansenii, lib. iii. which makes the first part of his *History of Jansenism*, published at *Utrecht* in 8vo in the year 1695.—*Dictionarie des Livres Jansénistes*, tom. i. p. 120.—This celebrated work of Jansenius, which gave such a wound to the Romish church, as neither the power nor wisdom of its pontiffs will ever be able to heal, is divided into three parts. The *first* is historical, and contains a relation of the Pelagian controversy, which arose in the fifth century. In the *second*, we find an accurate account and illustration of the doctrine of Augustine, relating to the *Constitution and powers of the Human Nature, in its original, fallen, and renewed state.* The *third* contains the doctrine of the same great man, relating to the *Aids of sanctifying Grace procured by Christ, and to the eternal Predestination of men and angels.* The style of Jansenius is clear, but not sufficiently correct.

end, which Jansenius proposed to himself in this work, was not to give his own private sentiments concerning these important points, but to shew in what manner they had been understood and explained by that celebrated father of the church, now mentioned, whose name and *authority* were universally revered in all parts of the Roman-Catholic world [*h*]. No incident could be more unfavourable to the cause of the Jesuits, and the progress of their religious system, than the publication of this book; for as the doctrine of Augustine differed but very little from that of the Dominicans [*i*]; as it was held sacred, nay almost respected as divine, in the church of *Rome*, on account of the extraordinary merit and authority of that illustrious bishop, and, at the same time, was almost diametrically opposite to the sentiments generally received among the Jesuits, these latter could scarcely consider the book of Jansenius in any other light than as a tacit, but formidable refutation of their opinions concerning *Human Liberty* and *Divine Grace*. And accordingly, they not only drew their pens against this famous book, but also used their most zealous endeavours to obtain a public condemnation of it from *Rome*. Their endeavours were not unsuccessful. The Roman inquisitors began the opposition by prohibiting the perusal of it, in the year 1741; and the year following, Urban VIII. condemned it by a solemn bull, as infected with several

[*h*] Thus Jansenius expresses himself in his *Augustinus*, tom. ii. *Lib. Proœmial.* cap. xxix. p. 65.—"Non ego hic de aliqua nova sententia reperienda disputo · · · sed de antiquâ Augustini.—Quæritur, non quid de naturæ humanæ statibus et viribus, vel de Dei gratia et predestinatione sentiendum est, sed quid Augustinus olim ecclesiæ nomine et applausu tradiderit prædicaverit, scriptoque multipliciter consignaverit."

[*i*] The Dominicans followed the sentiments of Thomas Aquinas, concerning the nature and efficacy of Divine Grace.

several errors, that had been long banished from the church.

XLI. There were nevertheless places, even within the bounds of the Romish Church, where neither the decisions of the inquisitor, nor the bull of the pontiff, were in the least respected. The doctors of *Louvain* in particular, and the followers of Augustine in general, who were very numerous in the *Netherlands*, opposed, with the utmost vigour, the proceedings of the Jesuits, and the condemnation of Jansenius; and hence arose a warm contest, which proved a source of much trouble to the Belgic provinces. But it was not confined within such narrow limits; it reached the neighbouring countries, and broke out, with peculiar vehemence, in *France*, where the abbot of *St. Cyran* [*k*], a man of an elegant genius, and equally distinguished by the extent of his learning, the lustre of his piety, and the sanctity of his manners, had procured Augustine many zealous followers, and the Jesuits as many bitter and implacable adversaries [*l*]. This respectable abbot

[*k*] The name of this abbot was Jean du Verger de Hauranne.

[*l*] This illustrious abbot is considered by the Jansenists as equal in merit and authority to Jansenius himself, whom he is supposed to have assisted in composing his *Augustinus*. The French, more especially (I mean such of them as adopt the doctrine of Augustine), revere him as an oracle, and even extol him beyond Jansenius. For an account of the life and transactions of this pious abbot, see Launcelot's *Memoires touchant la vie de M. de S. Cyran*, which were published at *Cologn**, in the year 1738, in two volumes 8vo.—Add to these *Recueil de plusieurs pieces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, p. 1.—150.—Arnaud D'Andilly, *Memoires au sujet de l'Abbè de S. Cyran*, which are published in the first volume of his *Vies des Religeuses de Port-Royal*, p. 15—44. Bayle's

* Though they are said, in the title page, to have been printed at Cologn; yet it is presumed on good grounds, that they first saw the light at Utrecht.

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abbot was the intimate friend and relation of Jansenius, and one of the most strenuous defenders of his doctrine. On the other hand, the far greatest part of the French theologists appeared on the side of the Jesuits, whose religious tenets seemed more honourable to human nature, or, at least, more agreeable to its propensities, more suitable to the genius of the Romish religion, and more adapted to promote and advance the interests of the Romish church, than the doctrine of Augustine. The party of Jansenius had also its patrons; and they were such as reflected honour on the cause. In this respectable list we may reckon several bishops eminent for their piety, and some of the first and most elegant geniuses of the French nation, such as Arnauld, Nicole, Pascal, and Quenel, and the other famous and learned men, who are known under the denomination of the *Authors of Port-Royal.* This party was also considerably augmented by a multitude of persons, who looked upon the usual practice of piety in the Romish church (which consists in the frequent use of the sacraments, the confession of sins, and the performance of certain external acts of religion) as much inferior to what the gospel of Christ requires, and who considered Christian piety, as the vital and internal principle of a soul, in which true faith and divine love have gained a happy ascendant. Thus one of the contending parties excelled in the number and power of its votaries, the other in the learning, genius, and piety of its adherents; and things being thus balanced, it is not difficult to comprehend, how a controversy, which began about a century ago, should

Bayle's *Dictionary,* vol. ii. at the article Jansenius,—*Dictionnaire des Livres Jansenistes,* tom. i. p. 133.—For an account of the earlier studies of the abbot in question, see Gabriel Liron, *Singularites Historiques et Litteraires,* tom. iv. p. 507.

should be still carried on with the most vehement contention and ardour [*m*].

The methods and arguments employed by both parties in this controversy.

XLII. Those who have taken an attentive view of this long, and indeed endless controversy, cannot but think it a matter both of curiosity and amusement to observe the contrivances, stratagems, arguments, and arts employed by both *Jesuits* and *Jansenists;* by the former in their methods of attack, and by the latter in their plans of defence. The *Jesuits* came forth into the field of controversy, armed with sophistical arguments, odious comparisons, papal bulls, royal edicts, and the protection of a great part of the nobility and bishops; and, as if all this had appeared to them insufficient, they had recourse to still more formidable auxiliaries, even the secular arm, and a competent number of dragoons. The *Jansenists*, far from being dismayed at the view of this warlike host, stood their ground with steadiness and intrepidity. They evaded the mortal

[*m*] The history of this contest is to be found in many authors, who have either given a relation of the whole, or treated apart some of its most interesting branches. The writers that ought to be principally consulted on this subject are those which follow: Gerberon, *Histoire Generale du Jansenisme*, published in 1700, at Amsterdam, in three volumes 8vo, and republished in 5 volumes 12mo, at Lyons in 1708.—Du Mas, *Histoire des Cinq Propositions de* Jansenius, printed at Liege in 8vo in 1694. Of these two writers, the former maintains the cause of the Jansenists, while the latter favours that of the Jesuits.—Add to these, Melch. Leydeckers *Historia Jansenisme* printed at Utrecht in 8vo, in 1695; and Voltaire's *Siecle de* Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 264. Several books, written on both sides, are enumerated in a work published in 8vo, in 1735, under the following title: *Bibliotheque Janseniste, ou Catalogue Alphabetique des principaux Livres Jansenistes*, the author of which is said to be Domin. Colonia, a learned Jesuit. This book, as we have had before occasion to observe, has been republished at Antwerp, with considerable additions, in four volumes 8vo, under the title of, *Dictionaire des Livres Jansenistes.*—See *Recueil des pieces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, p. 325.

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blows that were levelled at them in the royal and papal mandates, by the help of nice interpretations, subtile distinctions, nay, by the very same sophistical refinements which they blamed in the Jesuits. To the threatenings and frowns of the nobles and bishops, who protected their adversaries, they opposed the favour and applause of the people; to sophisms they opposed sophisms, and invectives to invectives; and to human power they opposed the Divine Omnipotence, and boasted of the miracles by which heaven had declared itself in their favour. When they perceived that the strongest arguments, and the most respectable authorities were insufficient to conquer the obstinacy of their adversaries, they endeavoured by their religious exploits, and their application to the advancement of piety and learning, to obtain the favour of the pontiffs, and strengthen their interest with the people. Hence they declared war against the enemies of the Romish church; formed new stratagems to ensnare and ruin the Protestants; took extraordinary pains in instructing the youth in all the liberal arts and sciences; drew up a variety of useful, accurate, and elegant abridgments, containing the elements of philosophy and the learned languages; published a multitude of treatises on practical religion and morality, whose persuasive eloquence charmed all ranks and orders of men; introduced and cultivated an easy, correct, and agreeable manner of writing; and gave accurate and learned interpretations of several ancient authors. To all these various kinds of merit, the greatest part of which were real and solid, they added others that were at least visionary and chimerical; for they endeavoured to persuade, and did, in effect, persuade many, that the Supreme Being interposed particularly in support of their cause, and, by prodigies and miracles of a stupendous

pendous kind, confirmed the truth of the doctrine of Augustine, in a manner adapted to remove all doubt, and triumph over all opposition [*n*]. All

[*n*] It is well known that the *Jansenists* or *Agustinians*, have long pretended to confirm their doctrine by miracles; and they even acknowledge, that these miracles have sometimes saved them, when their affairs have been reduced to a desperate situation. See *Memoires de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 256. tom. ii. p. 107.—The first time we hear mention made of these miracles is in 1556, and the following years, when a *pretended* thorn of that derisive crown that was put upon our Saviour's head by the Roman soldiers, is reported to have performed several marvellous cures in the convent of Port-Royal. See the *Recueil de plusieurs pieces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, p. 228. 448.—Fontaine, *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, tom. ii. p. 131.—These were followed by other prodigies in the year 1661.—*Vies des Religieuses de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 192. and in the year 1664, *Memoires de Port-Royal*, tom. iii. p. 252.—The fame of these miracles was very great during the last century, and proved singularly advantageous to the cause of the Jansenists; but they are now fallen, even in France, into oblivion and discredit. The *Jansenists*, therefore, of the present age, being pressed by their adversaries, were obliged to have recourse to new prodigies, as the credit of the old ones was entirely worn out; and they seemed, indeed, to have had miracles at command, by the considerable number they pretended to perform. Thus (if we are credulous enough to believe their reports) in the year 1725, a woman, whose name was Le Fosse, was *suddenly* cured of a bloody flux, by imploring the aid of the *Host*, when it was, one day, carried by a *Jansenist* priest. About two years after this, we are told, that the tomb of Gerhard Rousse, a canon of Avignon, was honoured with miracles of a stupendous kind; and finally, we are informed, that the same honour was conferred, in the year 1731, on the bones of the Abbé de Paris, which were interred at St. Medard, where innumerable miracles are said to have been wrought. This last story has given rise to the warmest contests, between the superstitious or crafty Jansenists, and their adversaries in all communions. Besides all this, Quesnel, Levier, Desangins, and Tournus, the great ornaments of Jansenism, are said to have furnished extraordinary succours, on several occasions, to sick and infirm persons, who testified a lively confidence in their prayers and *merits*. See a famous Jansenist book composed in answer to the *Bull Unigenitus*, and entitled, *Jesus Christ sous l'Anathéme et sous l'Excommunication*,

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All this rendered the Jansenists extremely popular, and held the victory of the Jesuits for some time dubious; nay, it is more than probable, that the former would have triumphed, had not the cause of the latter been the cause of the papacy, and had not the stability and grandeur of the Romish church depended in a great measure upon the success of their religious maxims.

Five propositions of Jansenius condemned by Innocent X.

XLIII. It appears from several circumstances, that Urban VIII. and after him, Innocent X. were really bent on appeasing these dangerous tumults, in the same manner as the popes in former times had prudently suppressed the controversies excited by Baius and the Dominicans. But the vivacity, inconstancy, and restless spirit of the French doctors threw all into confusion, and disconcerted the measures of the pontiffs. The opposers of the doctrine of Augustine selected *five*

art. xvii. p. 61, xviii. p. 66. *Edit. Utrecht.*—There is no doubt but a great part of the Jansenists defend these miracles from principle, and in consequence of a persuasion of their truth and reality; for that party abounds with persons, whose piety is blended with a most superstitious credulity, who look upon their religious system as celestial truth, and their cause as the immediate cause of heaven, and who are consequently disposed to think that it cannot possibly be neglected by the Deity, or left without extraordinary marks of his approbation and supporting presence. It is however amazing, nay almost incredible, on the other hand, that the more judicious defenders of this cause, those eminent Jansenists, whose sagacity, learning, and good sense, discover themselves so abundantly in other matters, do not consider that the powers of nature, the efficacy of proper remedies, or the effects of imagination, produce many important changes and effects, which imposture, or a blind attachment to some particular cause, lead many to attribute to the miraculous interposition of the Deity. We can easily account for the delusions of weak enthusiasts, or the tricks of egregious impostors; but when we see men of piety and judgment appearing in defence of such miracles as those now under consideration, we must conclude, that they look upon fraud as lawful in the support of a good cause, and make no scruple of deceiving the people, when they propose, by this delusion, to confirm, and propagate what they take to be the truth.

five propositions out of the work of Jansenius already mentioned, which appeared to them the most erroneous in their nature, and the most pernicious in their tendency; and, being set on by the instigation, and seconded by the influence of the Jesuits, employed their most zealous endeavours and their most importunate intreaties, at the court of *Rome*, to have these propositions condemned. On the other hand, a great part of the Gallican clergy used their utmost efforts to prevent this condemnation; and, for that purpose, they sent deputies to *Rome*, to entreat Innocent X. to suspend his final decision, until the true sense of these propositions was deliberately examined, since the ambiguity of style, in which they were expressed, rendered them susceptible of a false interpretation. But these entreaties were ineffectual: the interest and importunities of the Jesuits prevailed; and the pontiff, without examining the merits of the cause with a suitable degree of impartiality and attention, condemned, by a public bull, on the 31st of May, 1653, the propositions of Jansenius. These propositions contained the following doctrines:

1. "*That* there are divine precepts which good men, notwithstanding their desire to observe them, are, nevertheless, absolutely unable to obey; nor has God given them that measure of grace, that is essentially necessary to render them capable of such obedience:

2. "*That* no person, in this corrupt state of nature, can resist the influence of divine grace, when it operates upon the mind:

3. "*That*, in order to render human actions meritorious, it is not requisite that they be exempt from *necessity*, but only that they be free from *constraint* [o]. 4. "*That*

[o] Augustine, Leibnitz, and a considerable number of modern philosophers, who maintain the doctrine of Necessity, consider

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4. " *That* the Semi-pelagians err grievously in maintaining, that the human will is endowed with the power of either receiving or resisting the aids and influences of preventing grace:

5. " *That* whosoever affirms, that Jesus Christ made expiation, by his sufferings and death, for the sins of all mankind, is a Semi-pelagian."

Of these propositions the pontiff declared the first four only *heretical;* but he pronounced the fifth *rash, impious,* and *injurious* to the Supreme Being [*p*].

Alexander VII. publishes a bull against Jansenius.

XLIV. This sentence of the Supreme ecclesiastical judge was indeed painful to the Jansenists, and of consequence highly agreeable to their adversaries. It did not however either drive the former to despair, or satisfy the latter to the extent of their desires; for while the *doctrine* was condemned, the *man* escaped. Jansenius was not named in the *bull,* nor did the pontiff even declare that the *five propositions* were maintained in the book entitled Augustinus, in the sense in which he had condemned them. Hence the disciples of Augustine and Jansenius defended themselves by a distinction invented by the ingenious and subtile Anthony Arnaud, in consequence of which they considered separately in this controversy the *matter of doctrine* and the *matter of fact;* that is to say, they acknowledged themselves bound to believe, that the *five propositions* abovementioned were justly condemned by the Roman

consider this necessity in *moral actions,* as consistent with true liberty, because it is consistent with *spontaneity* and choice. According to them, constraint alone and external force destroy *merit* and *imputation.*

[*p*] This *Bull* is still extant in the *Bullareum Romanum,* tom. vi. p. 456. It has also been published, together with several other pieces relating to this controversy, by Du Plessis D'Argentre, in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus,* tom. iii. p. 261.

Roman pontiff [*q*]; but they maintained, that the pope had not declared, and consequently that they were not bound to believe, that these propositions were to be found in Jansenius' book, in the sense in which they had been condemned [*r*]. They did not however enjoy long the benefit of this artful distinction. The restless and invincible hatred of their enemies pursued them in every quarter where they looked for protection or repose; and at length engaged Alexander VII. the successor of Innocent, to declare by a solemn bull, issued out in the year 1656, that the *five propositions*, that had been condemned, were the tenets of Jansenius, and were contained in his book. The pontiff did not stop here; but to this flagrant instance of imprudence added another still more shocking; for, in the year 1665, he sent into *France* the form of a declaration, that was to be be subscribed by all those who aspired after any preferment in the church, and in which it was affirmed, that the *five propositions* were to be found in the book of Jansenius, in the same sense in which they had been condemned by the church [*s*]. This declaration, whose unexampled temerity and contentious tendency appeared in the most odious colours, not only to the Jansenists, but also to the wiser part of the French nation, produced the most deplorable divisions and tumults. It was immediately opposed with vigour by the Jansenists, who maintained, that in matters of fact the pope was fallible, especially when his decisions were merely personal, and not confirm-

☞ [*q*] This was what our author calls the *questio de jure.*

☞ [*r*] This is the *questio de facto.*

[*s*] This *Bull*, together with several other pieces, is also published by Du Plessis D'Argentre, in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. iii. p. 281, 288, 306.—See the form of Alexander's declaration, with the *Mandate* of Lewis XIV. ibid. p. 314.

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ed by a general council; and, of consequence, that it was neither obligatory nor necessary to subscribe this papal declaration, which had only a matter of fact for its object. The Jesuits, on the contrary, audaciously asserted, even openly, in the city of Paris, and in the face of the Gallican church, that faith and confidence in the papal decisions relating to matter of fact, had no less the characters of a well grounded and divine faith, than when these decisions related merely to matters of doctrine and opinion. It is to be remarked, on the other hand, that all the Jansenists were by no means so resolute and intrepid as those abovementioned. Some of them declared, that they would neither subscribe nor reject the Form in question, but shew their veneration for the authority of the pope, by observing a profound silence on that subject. Others professed themselves ready to subscribe it, not indeed without exception and reserve, but on condition of being allowed to explain, either verbally or in writing, the sense in which they understood it, or the distinction and limitations with which they were willing to adopt it. Others employed a variety of methods and stratagems to elude the force of this tyrannical declaration [*t*]. But nothing of this kind was sufficient to satisfy the violent demands of the Jesuits; nothing less than the entire ruin of the Jansenists could appease their fury. Such, therefore, among the latter, as made the least opposition to the declaration in question, were cast into prison, or sent into exile, or involved in some other species of persecution; and it is well known, that this severity was a consequence of the suggestions of the Jesuits, and of their influence in cabinet-councils.

XLV. The

[*t*] See Du Mas, *Histoire des Cinques Propositions*, p. 158.—Gerberon, *Histoire Generale du Jansenisme*, p. ii. p. 516.

XLV. The lenity or prudence of Clement IX. suspended, for a while, the calamities of those who had sacrificed their liberty and their fortunes to their zeal for the doctrine of Augustine, and gave them both time to breathe, and reason to hope for better days. This change, which happened in the year 1669, was occasioned by the fortitude and resolution of the bishops of *Angers*, *Beauvais*, *Pamiers*, and *Alet*, who obstinately and gloriously refused to subscribe without the proper explications and distinctions, the oath or declaration that had produced such troubles and divisions in the church. They did not indeed stand alone in the breach; for when the court of *Rome* began to menace and level its thunder at their heads, nineteen bishops more arose with a noble intrepidity, and adopted their cause, in solemn remonstrances addressed both to the king of *France* and the Roman pontiff. These resolute protestors were joined by Anne Genevieve de Bourbon, duchess of *Longueville*, a heroine of the first rank both in birth and magnanimity, who, having renounced the pleasures and vanities of the world, which had long employed her most serious thoughts, espoused with a devout ardour, the doctrines and cause of the *Jansenists*, and most earnestly implored the clemency of the Roman pontiff in their behalf. Moved by these entreaties, and also by other arguments and considerations of like moment, Clement IX. became so indulgent as to accept of a conditional subscription to the famous declaration, and to permit doctors of scrupulous consciences to sign it according to the mental interpretation they thought proper to give it. This instance of papal condescension and lenity was no sooner made public, than the Jansenists began to come forth from their lurking places, to return from their voluntary exile, and to enjoy their former tranquillity and freedom,

This persecution is suspended under the pontificate of Clement IX.—The suspension commonly called the Peace of Clement.

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freedom, being exempt from all uneasy apprehension of any further persecution.

This remarkable event is commonly called the *Peace of Clement* IX. its duration, nevertheless, was but transitory [*u*]. It was violated in the year 1676, at the instigation of the Jesuits, by Lewis XIV. who declared, in a public edict, that it had only been granted for a time, out of a condescending indulgence to the tender and scrupulous consciences of a certain number of persons; but it was totally abolished after the death of the duchess of Longueville, which happened in the year 1679, and deprived the Jansenists of their principal support. From that time

[*u*] The transactions relating to this event, which were carried on under the pontificate of Clement IX. are circumstantially related by Cardinal Rospigniosi, in his *Commentarii*, which Du Plessis D'Argentre has subjoined to his *Elementa Theologica*, published in 8vo at Paris, in the year 1716. See also this last mentioned author's *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 336. in which the letters of Clement IX. are inserted. Two Jansenists have written the History of the *Clementine Peace*. Varet, vicar to the archbishop of Sens, in an anonymous work, entitled, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans l'affaire de la Paix de l'Eglise sous la Pape* Clement IX. and Quesnel, in an anonymous production also, entitled, *La Paix de* Clement IX. *ou Demonstration des deux fausseтés capitales avancées dans l'Histoire des Cinq Propositions contre la foi des disciple de St.* Augustin. That Varet was the author of the former is asserted in the *Catechism Historique sur les contestations de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 352; and that the latter came from the pen of Quesnel, we learn from the writer of *Bibliotheque Janseniste*, p. 314.—There was another accurate and interesting account of this transaction published in the year 1706, in two volumes 8vo, under the following title: *Relation de ce qui s'est passe dans l'affaire de la paix de l'Eglise sous la Pape* Clement IX. *avec les Lettres, Actes, Memoires, et autres pieces qui y ont rapport.*—The important services that the duchess of Longueville rendered the Jansenists in this affair are related with elegance and spirit by Villefort, in his *Vie d'Anne Genevieve de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville*, tom. ii. livr. vi. p. 89. of the edition of Amsterdam (1739), which is more complete and ample than the edition of Paris,

time their calamities were renewed, and they were pursued with the same malignity and rage that they had before experienced. Some of them avoided the rising storm by a voluntary exile; others sustained it with invincible fortitude and constancy of mind; others turned aside its fury, and escaped its violence, as well as they could, by dexterity and prudence. Anthony Arnaud, who was the head and leader of the party, fled into *Holland* in the year 1679 [*w*]; and, in this retreat he not only escaped the fury of his enemies, but had it in his power to hurt them considerably, and actually made the Jesuits feel the weight of his talents and the extent of his influence. For the admirable eloquence and sagacity of this great man gave him such an ascendant in the *Netherlands*, that the greatest part of the churches there embraced his opinions, and adopted his cause; the Romish congregations in *Holland*, also were, by his influence, and the ministry of his intimate friends and adherents, John Neercassel and Peter Coddeus, bishops of *Castorie* and *Sebasto* [*x*], entirely gained over to the Jansenist party. These latter still persevere with the utmost steadiness in the principles of Jansenism; and, secured under the protection of the Dutch government, defy the threats, and hold in derision, the resentment of the Roman pontiffs [*y*].

XLVI. It

[*w*] For an account of this great man, see Bayle's *Dictionary*, vol. i. at the article Anthony Arnaud; as also *Histoire abregée de la vie et des ouvrages de M.* Arnaud, published at Cologne, in 8vo.—The change introduced into the Romish churches in Holland is mentioned by Lafitau, *Vie de* Clement XI. tom. i. p. 123. For an account of Coddeus, Neercassel, and Varet, and the other patrons of Jansenism among the Dutch, see the *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansenistes*, tom. i. p. 48. 21. 353. tom. ii. p. 406. tom. iv. p. 119.

[*x*] Bishops *in partibus infidelium.*

☞ [*y*] It must however be observed, that, notwithstanding

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The austere piety of the Jansenists.

XLVI. It is not only on account of their embracing the doctrine of Augustine concerning divine grace (a doctrine which bears a striking resemblance with that of the Calvinists), that the Jansenists have incurred the displeasure and resentment of the Jesuits. They are charged with many other circumstances, which appear intolerable to the warm votaries of the church of Rome. And, indeed, it is certain, that the various controversies, which have been mentioned above, were excited in that church principally by the Jansenists, and have been propagated and handed down by them, even to our times, in a prodigious multitude of their books published both in France and in the Netherlands [z]. But that which offends most the Jesuits, and the other creatures of the pontiff, is the austerity of this party, and the severity that reigns in their system of moral discipline and practical religion. For the Jansenists cry out against the corruptions of the church of Rome, and complain that neither its doctrines nor morals retain any traces of their former purity. They reproach the clergy with an universal depravation of sentiments and manners, and entire forgetfulness of the dignity of their character, and the duties of their vocation. They censure the licentiousness of the monastic orders, and insist upon the necessity of reforming their discipline according to the rules of sanctity, abstinence, and self-denial, that were originally prescribed by their respective founders. They maintain also, that the people ought to be carefully instructed in all the doctrines and precepts of

ing the ascendant the Jansenists have in Holland, the Jesuits, for some time past, have by artifice and disguise got a considerable footing among the Romish churches that are tolerated by the republic.

[z] See *Hist. Eccles. Rom.* Sæc. xvi. sect. xxxi.

of Christianity, and that, for this purpose, the Holy Scriptures and Public Liturgies should be offered to their perusal in their mother-tongue; and, finally, they look upon it as a matter of the highest moment to persuade all Christians that true pity does not consist in the observance of pompous rites, or in the performance of external acts of devotion, but in inward holiness and divine love.

These sentiments of the Jansenists, on a general view, seemed just and rational, and suitable to the spirit and genius of Christianity; but, when we examine the particular branches into which they extend these general principles, the consequences they deduce from them, and the manner in which they apply them, in their rules of discipline and practice, we shall find, that the piety of this famous party is deeply tinged both with superstition and fanaticism; that it more especially, favours the harsh and enthusiastical opinion of the *Mystics;* and, of consequence, that the Jansenists are not undeservedly branded by their adversaries with the denomination of *Rigourists* [*a*]. This denomination

[*a*] They who desire to form a just notion of the dismal piety of the Jansenists (which carries the unseemly features of that gloomy devotion that was formerly practised by fanatical hermits in the deserts of Syria, Lybia, and Egypt, but is entirely foreign from the dictates of reason and the amiable spirit of Christianity), have only to peruse the epistles and other writings of the *Abbot of* St. Cyran, who is the great oracle of the party. This abbot was a well meaning man; and his piety, such as it was, carried in it the marks of sincerity and fervour; he was also superior, perhaps as a pastor, to the greatest part of the Roman catholic doctors; and his learning, more especially his knowledge of religious antiquity, was very considerable; but to propose this man as a complete and perfect model of *genuine* piety, and as a most accurate and accomplished teacher of *Christian* virtue, is an absurdity peculiar to the Jansenists, and can be adopted by no person who knows what *genuine* piety and *Christian* virtue are. That we may

denomination they merited in a peculiar manner, by their doctrine concerning Repentance and Penance,

may not seem to detract rashly, and without reason, from the merit of this eminent man, it will not be improper to confirm what we have said by some instances. This good abbot, having undertaken to vanquish the *Heretics*, (*i. e.* the Protestants) in a prolix and extensive work, was obliged to read, or at least to look into the various writings published by that *impious tribe;* and this he did in company with his nephew Martin de Barcos, who resembled him entirely in his sentiments and manners. But before he would venture to open a book composed by a protestant, he constantly marked it with the *sign of the cross*, to expel the *evil spirit*. What weakness and superstition did this ridiculous proceeding discover! for the good man was peruaded that *Satan* had fixed his residence in the books of the Protestants; but it was not so easy to determine where he imagined the wicked spirit lay, whether in the paper, in the letters, between the leaves, or in the doctrines of these *infernal* productions? Let us see the account that is given of this matter by Lancelot in his *Memoires touchant la vie de M l'Abbé de S. Cyran*, tom. i. p. 226. His words are as follows: "Il lisoit ces livres avec tant de piete, qu'en les prenant il les exorcisoit toujours en faisant la signe de la Croix dessus, ne doutant point que la Demon n'y residoit actuellement." His attachment to Augustine was so excessive, that he looked upon as sacred and divine even those opinions of that great man, which the wiser part of the Romish doctors had rejected as erroneous and highly dangerous. Such, among others, was the extravagant and pernicious tenets, that the saints are the only lawful proprietors of the world; and that the wicked have no right, by the divine law, to those things which they possess justly, in consequence of the decisions of human law. To this purpose is the following assertion of our abbot, as we find it in Fontaine's *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 201. "Jesus Christ n'est encore entre dans la possession de son Royaume temporel, et des biens du monde qui lui appartiennent que par cette *petite portion* qu'en tient l'Eglise par les benefices de ses Clercs, qui ne sont que les fermiers et les depositaires de Jesus Christ." If therefore, we are to give credit to this visionary man, the golden age is approaching, when Jesus Christ, having pulled down the mighty from their seats, and dethroned the kings and princes of the earth, shall reduce the whole world under his sole dominion, and give it over to the government of priests and monks, who are the *princes* of his church.—After we have seen such sentiments as these maintained by their oracle and chief, it is but natural to be surprised when we hear the Jansenists

Penance, whose tendency, considered both in a civil and religious point of view, is singularly pernicious.

nists boasting of their zeal in defending sovereign states, and in general the civil rights of mankind, against the stratagems and usurpations of the Roman pontiffs.

The notions of the abbot of St. Cyran concerning *prayer*, which breathe the fanatical spirit of mysticism, will further confirm what we have said of his propensity to enthusiasm. It is, for example, a favourite maxim with him, that the Christian who prays, ought never to recollect the good things he stands in need of in order to ask them of God, since true prayer does not consist in distinct notions and clear ideas of what we are doing in that solemn act, but in a certain *blind impulse* of divine love. Such is the account given of the abbot's sentiments on this head by Lancelot, in his *Memoires touchant la vie de l'Abbé de S. Cyran*, tom. ii. p. 44.—" Il ne croyoit pas, (says that author) que l'on pût faire quelque effort pour s'appliquer a quelque point, ou a quelque pensee particuliere—parce que la veritable priere est plutôt un attrait de son amour, qui emporte notre cœur vers lui, et nous enleve comme hors de nous mêmes, que non pas une occupation de notre esprit, qui se remplisse de l'idee de quelque objet quoque divin." According to this hypothesis, the man prays best who neither *thinks* nor *asks* in that act of devotion. This is, indeed, a very extraordinary account of the matter, and contains an idea of prayer which seems to have been quite unknown to Christ, and his *Apostles;* for the *former* has commanded us to address our prayers to God in a set form of words; and the *latter* frequently tell us the subject of their petitions and supplications.

But of all the errors of this Arch-Jansenist, none was so pernicious as the fanatical notion he entertained of his being the *residence* of the deity, the *instrument* of the Godhead, by which the *divine nature* itself essentially operated. It was in consequence of this dangerous principle, that he recommends it as a duty incumbent on all pious men to follow, without consulting their judgment or any other guide, the *first motions* and *impulses* of their minds, as the dictates of heaven. And indeed the Jansenists, in general, are intimately persuaded, that God *operates* immediately upon the minds of those who have composed, or rather suppressed, all the motions of the *understanding* and of the *will*, and that to such he declares, from above, his intentions and commands; since whatever thoughts, designs, or inclinations arise within them, in this calm state of tranquillity and silence, are to be considered as the direct suggestions and oracles of the divine wisdom. See, for a further account of this pestilential doctrine, *Memoires de Port-Royal*, tom. iii. p. 246.

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pernicious. For they make repentance consist chiefly in those voluntary sufferings, which the transgressor inflicts upon himself, in proportion to the nature of his crimes and the degree of his guilt. As their notions of the extent of man's original corruption are greatly exaggerated, they prescribe remedies to it that are of the same nature. They look upon Christians as bound to expiate this original guilt by acts of mortification performed in solitude and silence, by torturing and macerating their bodies, by painful labour, excessive abstinence, continual prayer and contemplation; and they hold every person obliged to increase these voluntary pains and sufferings, in proportion to the degree of corruption they have derived from nature, or contracted by a vicious and licentious course of life. Nay, they carry these austerities to so high a pitch, that they do not scruple to call those *holy* self-tormentors, who have gradually put an end to their days by excessive abstinence or labour, the *sacred victims of repentance*, that have been *consumed* by the *fire* of divine love. Not satisfied with this *fantastical* language, they go still farther, and *superstitiously* maintain, that the conduct of these self-murderers, is peculiarly meritorious in the eye of heaven; and that their sufferings, macerations, and labours, appease the anger of the Deity, and not only contribute to their own felicity, but draw down abundant blessings upon their friends and upon the church. We might confirm this account by various examples, and more especially by that of the famous Abbé De Paris, the great wonder-worker of the Jansenists, who put himself to a most painful death, in order to satisfy the justice of an incensed God [*b*]; such was the picture

[*b*] See Motinos, *Com. de Pœnitentia Præf.* p. 3. in which there is a tacit censure of the penance of the Jansenists.—See

picture he had formed of the best of Being in his disordered fancy.

The convent of Port-Royal.

XLVII. A striking example of this austere, forbidding, and extravagant species of devotion was exhibited in that celebrated female convent called *Port Royal in the Fields*, which was situated in a retired, deep, and gloomy vale, not far from Paris. The inspection and government of this austere society was given by Henry IV. about the commencement of this century, to Jaqueline, daughter of Anthony Arnaud [*c*], who, after her conversion, assumed the name of Marie Angelique de la St. Madelaine. This lady had at first led a very dissolute life [*d*], which was the general case of the cloistered fair in France, about this period; but a remarkable change happened in her sentiments and manners, in the year 1609, when she resolved no more to live like a nun, but to consecrate her future days to deep devotion and penitential exercises. This holy resolution was strengthened by her acquaintance with the famous Francois de Sales, and the abbot of St. Cyran. The last of these pious connexions she formed in the year 1623, and modelled both her own conduct and the manners of her

—See on the other hand, the *Memoires de Port-Royal*, p. 483. —The Jansenists, among all the *meritorious* actions of the abbot of St. Cyran, find none more worthy of admiration and applause than his restoring from oblivion the true system of penitential discipline; and they consider him as the second author or parent of the doctrine of penance. See *Memoires de Port-Royal*, tom. iii. p. 445. 504.—This very doctrine, however, of penance was one of the principal reasons of his being committed to prison by the order of Cardinal Richelieu. *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 233. 452.

[*c*] An eminent lawyer, and father to the famous Arnaud, doctor in *Sorbonne*.

☞ [*d*] The dissolute life imputed to this abbess by Dr. Mosheim is an egregious mistake, which seems to have proceeded from his misunderstanding a passage in Bayle's *Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 338. note F, fourth edition in French.

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her convent after the doctrine and example of these devout men. Hence it happened, that during the whole course of this century, the convent of *Port-Royal* excited the indignation of the Jesuits, the admiration of the Jansenists, and the attention of *Europe*. The holy virgins of this famous society observed, with the utmost rigour and exactness, that ancient rule of the Cistercians, which had been almost every where abrogated on account of its excessive and intolerable austerity; nay, they even went beyond its most cruel demands [*e*]. Such was the fame of this devout nunnery,

[*e*] There is a prodigious multitude of books still extant, in which the rise, progress, laws, and sanctity, of this famous convent are described and extolled by eminent Jansenists, who, at the same time, deplore its fate in the most doleful strains. Of this multitude we shall mention those only which are easy to be acquired, and which contain the most modern and circumstantial accounts of that celebrated establishment.—The Benedictines of *St. Maur* have given an exact, though dry history of this convent in their *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 910. A more elegant and agreeable account of it; but an account charged with imperfection and partiality, was composed by the famous poet Racine, under the title of *Abrégé de l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, and was published, after having passed through many preceding editions, in the year 1750, at *Amsterdam*, among the works of his son Lewis Racine, tom. ii. p. 275—366. The external state and form of his convent are professedly described by Moleon, in his *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 234.—Add to these, Nic. Fontaine, *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, published at *Cologn* (or rather at *Utrecht*), in two volumes 8vo, in the year 1738.—Du Fosse, *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal.—Recueil de plusieurs pieces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, published at *Utrecht*, in 8vo, in the year 1740.—The editor of this last compilation promises, in his Preface, further collections of pieces relative to the same subject, and seems to insinuate, that a complete history of *Port-Royal*, drawn from these and other valuable and authentic records, will sooner or later see the light. See, besides the authors above mentioned, Lancelot, *Memoires touchant la Vie de l'Abbé de S. Cyran.* All these authors confine their relations to the external form and various revolutions of this famous convent. Its internal state, its rules of discipline

nunnery, that multitudes of pious persons were ambitious to dwell in its neighbourhood, and that a great part of the *Jansenist-penitents*, or self-tormentors of both sexes, built huts without its precincts, where they imitated the manners of those austere and gloomy fanatics, who, in the fourth and fifth centuries, retired into the wild and uncultivated places of *Syria*, and *Egypt*, and were commonly called, *The Fathers of the Desart*. The end which these Penitents had in view was, by silence, hunger, thirst, prayer, bodily labour,

 watchings,

discipline, the manners of its virgins, and the incidents and transactions that have happened between them and the holy neighbourhood of Jansenists, are described and related by another set of writers; see *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal, et à la Vie de* Marie Angelique D'Arnaud, published at *Utrecht* in 5 vols. 8vo, in the year 1742.—*Vies interessantes et edifiantes des religieuses de Port-Royal, et de plusieures personnes qui leur etoient attachées.* There are already four volumes of this work published, of which the first appeared at *Utrecht* in the year 1750, in 8vo, and it must be acknowledged, that they all contain several anecdotes and records that are interesting and curious.—For an account of the suppression and abolition of this convent, see the *Memoires sur la destruction de l'Abbaye de Port-Royal des Champs*, published in 8vo, in 1711. If we are not much mistaken, all these histories and relations have been much less serviceable to the reputation of this famous convent than the Jansenist party are willing to think. When we view Arnaud, Tillemont, Nicole, Le Maitre, and the other author of *Port-Royal*, in their learned productions, they then appear truly great; but, when we lay aside their works, and, taking up these histories of *Port-Royal*, see these great men in private life, in the constant practice of that austere discipline of which the Jansenists boast so foolishly, they indeed then shrink almost to nothing, appear in the contemptible light of fanatics, and seem totally unworthy of the fame they have acquired. When we read the *Discourses* that Isaac le Maitre, commonly called Sacy, pronounced at the bar, together with his other ingenious productions, we cannot refuse him the applause that is due to such an elegant and accomplished writer; but when we meet with this polite author at *Port-Royal*, mixed with labourers and reapers, and with the spade or the sickle in his hand, he then certainly makes a comical figure, and can scarcely be looked upon as perfectly right in his head.

watchings, sorrow, and other voluntary acts of self-denial, to efface the guilt, and remove the pollution the soul had derived from natural corruptions or evil habits [*f*]. They did not, however, all observe the same discipline, or follow the same kind of application and labour. The more learned consumed their strength in composing laborious productions filled with sacred and profane erudition, and some of these have no doubt, deserved well of the republic of letters: others were employed in teaching youth the rudiments of language and the principles of science; but the far greatest part exhausted both the health of their bodies and the vigour of their minds in servile industry and rural labour; and thus pined away by a slow kind of death. What is singularly surprising is that many of these voluntary victims of an inhuman piety were persons illustrious both by their birth and stations, who after having distinguished themselves in civil or military employments, debased themselves so far in this penitential retreat, as to assume the character, offices, and labour of the lowest servants.

This celebrated retreat of the devout and austere Jansenists was subject to many vicissitudes during the whole course of this century: at one time it flourished in unrivalled glory; at another it seemed eclipsed, and on the brink of ruin. At length, however, the period of its total extinction approached. The nuns obstinately refused to

[*f*] Among the finest and most eminent of these penitents was Isaac le Maitre, a celebrated lawyer at *Paris*, whose eloquence had procured him a shining reputation, and who, in the year 1637, retired to *Port-Royal* to make expiation for his sins. The retreat of this eminent man raised new enemies to the abbot of St. Cyran. See the *Memoires pour l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 223.—The example of Le Maitre was followed by a vast number of persons of all ranks, and, among these, by some persons of the highest distinction. See *Vies des Religieuses de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 141.

to subscribe the declaration of Pope Alexander VII. that has been so often mentioned; on the other hand, their convent and rule of discipline was considered as detrimental to the interests of the kingdom, and a dishonour to some of the first families in *France*; hence Lewis XIV. in the year 1709, set on by the violent counsels of the Jesuits, ordered the convent of *Port-Royal* to be demolished, the whole building to be levelled with the ground, and the nuns to be removed to *Paris*. And, lest there should still remain some secret fuel to nourish the flame of superstition in that place, he ordered the very carcasses of the nuns and devout Jansenists to be dug up and buried elsewhere.

The controversy concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.

XLVIII. The other controversies that disturbed the tranquillity of the church of *Rome*, were but light blasts when compared with this violent hurricane. The old debate between the Franciscans and Dominicans, concerning the *Immaculate Conception of the Virgin* Mary, which was maintained by the former, and denied by the latter, gave much trouble and perplexity to the Roman pontiffs, and more especially to Paul V. Gregory XV. and Alexander VII. The kingdom of *Spain* was thrown into such combustion, and so miserably divided into factions by this controversy, about the beginning of this century, that solemn embassies were sent to *Rome*, both by Philip III. and his successor, with a view to engage the Roman pontiff to determine the question, or, at any rate, to put an end to the contest by a public bull. But, notwithstanding the weighty solicitations of these monarchs, the oracle of *Rome* pronounced nothing but ambiguous words, and its high priests prudently avoided coming to a plain and positive decision of the matter in question. For if they were awed, on the one hand, by the warm remonstrances of the Spanish

court, which favoured the sentiment of the Franciscans, they were restrained, on the other, by the credit and influence of the Dominicans. So that, after the most earnest intreaties and importunities, all that could be obtained from the pontiff, by the court of *Spain*, was a declaration, intimating, that the opinion of the Franciscans had a high degree of probability on its side, and forbidding the Dominicans to oppose it in a public manner; but this declaration was accompanied with another [*g*], by which the Franciscans were prohibited, in their turn, from treating as erroneous the doctrine of the Dominicans. This pacific accommodation of matters would have been highly laudable in a prince or civil magistrate, who, unacquainted with theological questions of such an abstruse nature, preferred the tranquillity of his people to the discussion of such an intricate and unimportant point; but whether it was honourable

[*g*] See Frid. Ulr. Calixti *Historia Immaculatæ Conceptionis B. Virginis* Mariæ, published at *Helmstadt* in 4to in the year 1696.—Hornbeckii *Comm. ad Bullam* Urbani VIII. *de deibus Fetis*, p. 250.—Launoii *Præscriptionis de Conceptu Virginis* Mariæ, tom. i. p. i. oper. p. 9.—Long after this period, Clement XI. went a step further, and appointed, in the year 1708, a festival to be celebrated, in honour of the *Immaculate Conception of the Virgin* Mary, throughout the Romish church. See the *Memoires de Trevoux*, for the year 1709, art. xxxvii. p. 514. But the Dominicans obstinately deny that the obligation of this law extends to them, and persist in maintaining their ancient doctrine, though with more modesty and circumspection than they formerly discovered in this debate. And when we consider that this doctrine of theirs has never been expressly condemned by any pope, and that they are not in the least molested, nor even censured, for refusing to celebrate the festival above-mentioned, it appears evidently, from all this, that the terms of the papal edict are to be understood with certain restrictions, and interpreted in a mild and indulgent manner; and that the spirit of this edict is not contrary to the tenor of the former declarations of the pontiffs on this head. See Lamindus Pritanius (a fictitious name assumed by the author Muratori) *De igeniorum moderatione in religionis negotio*, p. 254.

nourable to the Roman pontiff, who boasts of a divine right to decide all religious controversies, and pretends to a degree of inspiration that places him beyond the possibility of erring, we leave to the consideration of those who have his glory at heart.

Quietism, or the controversies occasioned by the doctrine of Molinos.

XLIX. The controversies with the Mystics were now renewed, and that sect, which in former times enjoyed such a high degree of reputation and authority, was treated with the greate severity, and involved in the deepest distress towards the conclusion of this century. This unhappy change in their affairs was principally occasioned by the fanaticism and imprudence of Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest, who resided at Rome, and the fame of whose ardent piety and devotion procured him a considerable number of disciples of both sexes. A book published at Rome in the year 1681, by this ecclesiastic, under the title of *The Spiritual Guide*, alarmed the doctors of the church [*h*]. This book contained, besides the usual precepts and institutions of Mystic theology, several notions relating to a spiritual and contemplative life, that seemed to revive

[*h*] This book, which was composed in Spanish, and published for the first time, in the year 1675, was honoured with the approbation and encomiums of many eminent and respectable personages. It was published in Italian in several places, and at length at Rome, in 1681. It was afterwards translated into French, Dutch, and Latin, and passed through several editions in France, Italy, and Holland. The Latin translation, which bears the title of *Manuductio Spiritualis*, was published at Halle, in the year 1687, in 8vo, by Frank. There is another work of Molinos composed in the same spirit, concerning the daily celebration of the communion, which was also condemned. See the "Recueil de diverses pieces concernant le Quietisme et les Quietistes, ou Molinos ses sentimens et ses disciples," published in 8vo at Amsterdam, in the year 1688, in which the reader will find a French translation of the *Spiritual Guide*, together with a collection of letters on various subjects, written by Molinos.

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the pernicious and infernal errors of the Beghards, and open a door to all sorts of dissolution and licentiousness. The principles of Molinos, which have been very differently interpreted by his friends and enemies, amount to this: "That "the whole of religion consists in the perfect calm "and tranquillity of a mind removed from all "external and finite things, and centered in God, "and in such a pure love of the Supreme Being, "as is independent on all prospect of interest or "reward;" or to express the doctrine of this Mystic in other words, "The soul in the pur-"suit of the supreme good, must retire from the "reports and gratifications of sense, and, in ge-"neral, from all corporeal objects, and, impo-"sing silence upon all the motions of the under-"standing and will, must be absorbed in the "Deity." Hence the denomination of *Quietists*, was given to the followers of Molinos; though that of *Mystics*, which was their vulgar title, was more applicable, and expressed with more propriety their fanatical system. For the doctrine of Molinos had no other circumstance of novelty attending it, than the singular and unusual terms he employed in unfolding his notions, and the ingenuity he discovered in digesting what the ancient mystics had thrown out in the most confused and incoherent jargon, into something that looked like a system. The Jesuits, and other zealous votaries of Rome, soon perceived that the system of Molinos was a tacit censure of the Romish church, as having departed from the spirit of true religion, by placing the essence of piety in external works, and in the performance of a certain round of rites and ceremonies. But the warmest opponents Molinos met with was from the French ambassador [*i*] at Rome, who raised a most

[*i*] Cardinal D'Etrees.

most violent persecution against him. This made many imagine, that it was not the theological system of Molinos alone that had inflamed the resentment of that minister, but that some considerations of a political nature had been blended with this famous controversy, and that the Spanish Mystic had opposed the designs and negociations of the French monarch at the court of Rome. However that may have been, Molinos, unable to resist the storm, and abandoned by those from whom he chiefly expected succour, yielded to it in the year 1685, when notwithstanding the number, rank, and credit of his friends at Rome, and the particular marks of favour he had received from the Roman pontiff [*k*], he was cast into prison. Two years after this he was obliged to renounce, in a public manner, the errors of which he was accused, and this solemn recantation was followed by a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, from which he was, in an advanced age, delivered by death, in the year 1696 [*l*]. The candid and impartial will be obliged to acknowledge, that the opinions and expressions of this enthusiast were perfidiously misrepresented and perverted by the Jesuits and others, whose interest it was that he should be put out of the way, and excluded from every thing but contemplation and repose; and it is most certain, that this doctrine was charged with consequences which he neither approved nor even appre-

[*k*] Innocent XI.

[*l*] He was born in the diocese of *Saragossa*, in the year 1627; see *Biblioth. Janseniste*, p. 469. For an account of this controversy, see the *Narrative of the proceedings of the Controversy concerning Quietism*, which is subjoined to the German translation of Burnet's Travels.—As also Arnoldi *Historia Eccles. et Hæretic.* tom. iii. c. xvii. p. 176.—Jaegeri *Histor. Eccles. et Polit.* Sæculi xvii. Decen. ix. p. 26.—Plessis D'Argentre, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 357, where may be seen the papal edicts relating to this controversy.

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apprehended. But, on the other hand, it must also be confessed, that the system of Molinos was chargeable with the greatest part of the reproaches that are justly thrown upon the Mystics, and favoured much the illusions and follies of those fanatics, who would make the crude visions of their disordered fancies pass for Divine revelations [*m*].

Followers of Molinos.

L. It would have been truly surprising had a system of piety, that was so adapted to seduce the indolent mind, to captivate the warm imagination, and to melt the tender heart, been destitute of votaries and followers. But this was by no means the case. In *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, and the *Netherlands*, Molinos had a considerable number of disciples, and besides, the reasons we have now hinted, another circumstance must have contributed much to multiply his votaries; for, in all parts of the Romish dominion, there were numbers of persons, who had sense and knowledge enough to perceive, that the whole of religion could not consist in external rites and bodily mortifications, but too little to direct themselves in religious matters, or to substitute what was right in the place of what they knew to be wrong; and hence it was natural enough for them to follow the first plausible guide that was offered to them. But the church of *Rome*, apprehensive of the consequences of this Mystic theology, left no method unemployed that could attribute to stop its progress; and, by the force of promisings and threatenings, of severity and mildness properly applied, stifled in the birth the commotions and changes it seemed adapted to excite. The death of Molinos contributed also to dispel the anxiety of the Romish doctors, since his disciples and followers

[*m*] All that can be alleged in defence of Molinos has been gathered together by Weismannius, in his *Histor. Ecclesiast.* Sæc. xvii. p. 555.

followers seemed too inconsiderable to deserve any notice. Among these are generally reckoned Cardinal Petrucci, Francis de la Combe, a Barnabite friar, the spiritual director of Madame Guyon (who shall be mentioned more particularly), Frances Malavalle, Berniere de Louvigni, and others of less note. These enthusiasts, as is common among the Mystics, differ from Molinonos in several points, and are also divived among themselves; this diversity is, however, rather nominal than real; and, if we consider the true signification of the terms by which they express their respective notions, we shall find that they all set out from the same principles, and tend to the same conclusions [*n*].

The case of Madame Guyon and Fenelon.

LI. One of the principal patrons and propagators of Quietism in France was Marie Bouvieres de la Mothe Guyon, a woman of fashion, remarkable for the goodness of her heart and the regularity of her manners, but of an inconstant and unsettled temper, and subject to be drawn away by the seduction of a warm and unbridled fancy. This female apostle of Mysticism derived all her ideas of religion from the feelings of her own heart [*o*], and described its nature to others according

[*n*] The writings of these fanatics are enumerated and sharply criticised by Colonia, in the *Bibliotheque Quietiste* (which he has subjoined to his *Bibliotheque Janseniste)*, p. 455—488.—See also God. Arnoldi *Historia et Descriptio Theologiæ Mysticæ*, p. 364. & Poiret's *Bibliotheca Mysticorum*, published at *Amsterdam*, 8vo. 1708.

[*o*] Madame Guyon wrote her own life, and spiritual adventures in French, and published them in the year 1720. Her writings, which abound with childish allegories and mystic ejaculations, have been translated into German. Her principal production was *La Bible de Mad.* Guyon, *avec des explications et reflections qui regardent la viæ interieure.* This *Bible with Annotations relating to the hidden or internal life*, was published in the year 1715, at *Amsterdam*, under the name of *Cologn*, in twenty volumes in 8vo, which abundantly discover the fertile imagination and shallow judgment of

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cording as she felt it herself; a manner of proceeding of all others the most uncertain and delusive. And accordingly, her religious sentiments made a great noise in the year 1687, and gave offence to many. Hence, after they had been accurately and attentively examined by several men of eminent piety and learning, they were, at length pronounced erroneous and unsound, and, in the year 1697, were professedly confuted by the celebrated Bossuet. This gave rise to a controversy of still greater moment, between the prelate last mentioned, and Francis Salignac de Fenelon, archbishop of *Cambray*, whose sublime virtue and superior genius were beheld with veneration in all the countries of *Europe*. Of these two disputants, who, in point of eloquence, were avowedly without either superiors or equals in *France*, the latter seemed disposed to favour the religious system of Madame Guyon. For when Bossuet desired his approbation of the book he had composed, in answer to the sentiments of that female Mystic, Fenelon not only refused it, but openly declared that this pious woman had been treated with great partiality and injustice, and that the censures of her adversary were unmerited and groundless. Nor did the warm imagination of this amiable prelate permit him to stop here, where the dictates of prudence ought to have set bounds to his zeal; for, in the year 1697, he published a book [*p*], in which he adopted several of the tenets of Madame Guyon, and more especially that favourite doctrine of the Mystics, which teaches, that the love of the Supreme Being must be pure and disinterested; that is,

of this female mystic.—See a further account of her in the *Letters* of *Mad. de* Maintenon, tom. i. p. 249. tom. ii. p. 45, 47, 49, 51.

[*p*] This book was entitled, *Explication des Maxims des Saints sur la vie interieure.* It has been translated into Latin.

is, exempt from all views of interest and all hope of reward [*q*]. This doctrine Fenelon explained with a pathetic eloquence, and confirmed it by the authority of many of the most eminent and pious among the Romish doctors. Bossuet, whose leading passion was ambition, and who beheld with anxiety the rising fame and eminent talents of Fenelon as an obstacle to his glory, was highly exasperated by this opposition, and left no method unemployed which artifice and jealousy could suggest to mortify a rival whose illustrious merit had rendered so formidable. For this purpose, he threw himself at the feet of Lewis XIV. implored the succours of the Roman pontiff, and by his importunities and stratagems, obtained, at length, the condemnation of Fenelon's book. This condemnation was pronounced in the year 1699, by Innocent XII. who, in a public brief, declared that book unsound in general, and branded with more peculiar marks of disapprobation twenty-three propositions, specified by the *Congregation*, that had been appointed to examine it. The book, however, was condemned alone, without any mention of the author; and the conduct

☞ [*q*] This doctrine of the Mystics has thus far a foundation in reason and philosophy, that the moral perfections of the Deity are, in themselves, *intrinsically amiable;* and that their *excellence* is as much adapted to excite our esteem and love, as the experience of their beneficent effects in promoting our well being, is to inflame our gratitude. The error, therefore, of the Mystics lay in their drawing extravagant conclusions from a right principle, and in their requiring in their followers a perpetual abstraction and separation of ideas which are intimately connected, and, as it were blended together, such as *felicity* and *perfection;* for though these two are inseparable in fact, yet the Mystics from a fantastic pretension to disinterestedness, would separate them right or wrong, and turned their whole attention to the latter. In their views also of the supreme Being, they overlooked the important relations he bears to us as *benefactor and rewarder;* relations that gave rise to noble sentiments and important duties, and confined their views to his supreme *beauty, excellence,* and *perfection.*

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duct of Fenelon on this occasion was very remarkable. He declared publicly his entire acquiescence in the sentence by which his book had been condemned, and not only read that sentence to his people in the pulpit at Cambray, but exhorted them to respect and obey the papal decree [*r*]. This step was differently interpreted by different persons, according to their notions of this great man, or their respective ways of thinking. Some considered it as an instance of true magnanimity, as the mark of a meek and gentle spirit, that preferred the peace of the church to every private view of interest or glory. Others, less charitable, looked upon this submissive conduct as ignoble and pusillanimous, as denoting manifestly a want of integrity, inasmuch as it supposed, that the prelate in question condemned with his lips what in his heart he believed to be true. One thing indeed seems generally agreed on, and that is, that Fenelon persisted to the end of his days, in the sentiments which, in obedience to the order of the pope, he retracted and condemned in a public manner.

La Peyrere, White, Sfondrati, and Borri.

LII. Besides these controversies, which derived their importance chiefly from the influence and reputation of the disputants, and thus became productive of great tumults and divisions in the church, there were others excited by several innovators, whose new and singular opinions were followed with troubles, though of a less momentous

[*r*] An ample and impartial account of this controversy has been given by Toussaints du Plessis, a Benedictine, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise de* Meaux, livr. v. tom. i. p. 485—523.—Ramsay, in his Life of Fenelon, written in French, and published at the Hague in the year 1723, is less impartial; but is nevertheless worthy of being consulted on this subject. See Voltaire, *Siecle de* Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 301.—The public acts and edicts relating to this controversy have been collected by Du Plessis Argentre, in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 402.

tous and permanent nature. Such was the strange doctrine of Isaac la Peyrere, who, in two small treatises, published in the year 1655, maintained, that it is the origin of the Jewish nation, and not of the human race, that we find recorded in the books of Moses, and that our globe was inhabited by many nations before Adam, whom he considered as the father of the Jews. Though Peyrere was a protestant when he published this opinion, yet the doctors of the Romish church looked upon themselves as obliged to punish an error that seemed to strike at the foundation of all Revealed Religion; and therefore, in the year 1656, had him seized at *Brussels*, and cast into prison, where, to escape the flames, he publicly renounced his erroneous system, and to make a full expiation for it, embraced the popish religion [*s*].

Thomas White, known at different times, and in different countries, by the names of Albius, Anglus, Candidus, Blanchi [*t*], which he assumed successively, made a considerable figure, about the middle of this century, in *England*, *Portugal*, *France*, and the *Netherlands*, by the number and subtilty of his philosophical productions; but he also incurred the displeasure of many of the doctors of his communion, on account of the novelty and singularity of his opinions. He was undoubtedly a man of genius and penetration; but, being a passionate admirer of

[*s*] Bayle's *Dictionary* at the article *Peyrere*.—Arnoldi *Histor. Eccles. et Hæret.* tom. iii. p. 70.—*Menagiana*, published by De la Monnoye, tom. ii. p. 40.

[*t*] All these denominations were relative to his true name, which was White. This man was a peculiar favourite of Sir Kenelm Digby's, and mentions him with singular veneration in his philosophical writings. See more of this White in Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 665, and in the *Biograph. Brit.* article *Glanvil.* vol. iv. p. 2206.

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of the Peripatetic philosophy, he ventured to employ it in the explication of some of the peculiar doctrines of the Romish church. This bold attempt led him imperceptibly out of the beaten road of popery, opened to him new views of things, and made him adopt notions that had never been heard of in the church of *Rome;* and hence his books were prohibited and condemned in several places, and particularly at *Rome* by the *Congregation of the Index.* This innovator is said to have died in *England,* his native country, and to have left a sect behind him that embraced his doctrine, but, in process of time, fell into oblivion [*n*].

His peculiarities, however, were nothing, in comparison with the romantic notions of Joseph Francis Borri, a Milanese knight, eminent for his knowledge of chymistry and physic; but who, at the same time, appears to have been rather a madman than a heretic. The fancies broached by this man, concerning the Virgin Mary, the Holy Ghost, the erection of a new celestial kingdom, of which he himself was to be the founder, and the downfal of the Roman pontiff, are so extravagant, childish, and absurd, that no sober person can view them in any other light than as the crude reveries of a disordered brain. Besides, the conduct of this fanatic, in several places, discovered the greatest vanity and levity, attended with that spirit of imposture that is usually visible in quacks and mountebanks; and, indeed, in the whole of his behaviour, he seemed destitute of sense, integrity, and prudence. The inquisitors had spread their snares for Borri, but he luckily escaped them, and wandered up and down through a great part of *Europe,* giving himself

[*n*] See Bayle's *Dictionary* at the article *Anglus.*—Baillet, *Vie de* Des Cartes, tom. ii. p. 245.

self out for another Esculapius, and pretending to be initiated into the most profound mysteries of chemical science. But in the year 1672, he imprudently fell into the clutches of the Roman pontiff, who pronounced against him a sentence of perpetual imprisonment [*w*].

The last innovator we shall here mention is Coelestine Sfondrati, who, having formed the design of terminating the disputes concerning predestination, by new explications of that doctrine, wrote a book upon that knotty subject, which threw into combustion, in the year 1696, a considerable part of the Romish church; since it was, in some things, agreeable to none of the contending parties, and neither satisfied entirely the Jesuits nor their adversaries. Five French bishops, of great credit at the court of *Rome*, accused the author, notwithstanding the high rank of cardinal to which he had been raised on account of his extensive learning, of various errors, and more especially of having departed from the sentiments and doctrine of Augustine. This accusation was brought before Innocent XII. in the year 1696, but the contest it seemed adapted to excite was nipt in the bud. The pontiff appeased, or rather put off, the French prelates, with a fair promise that he would appoint a congregation to examine the cardinal's doctrine, and then pronounce sentence accordingly; but he forgot his promise, imitated the prudent conduct of his predecessors on like occasions, and did not venture to give a final decision to this intricate and knotty controversy [*x*].

LIII. There

[*w*] There is a very interesting article in Bayle's *Dictionary* relating to Borri, in which all the extravagancies of that wrong-headed man are curiously related. See also Arnold, *loc. cit.* p. iii. c. xviii. p. 193.

[*x*] This book, which was published at *Rome* in 4to, in the

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Cononizations.

LIII. There was scarcely any change introduced into the ritual of the Romish church during this century, if we except an edict of Urban VIII. for diminishing the number of holidays, which was issued out in the year 1643 [*y*]; we shall therefore conclude this account with a list of the saints added to the Kalendar by the Roman pontiffs during the period now before us.

In the year 1601, Clement VIII. raised to that spiritual dignity Raymond of Pennafort, the famous compiler of the *Decretals;* in 1608, Frances Pontiani, a Benedictine nun; and, in 1610, the eminent and illustrious Charles Borromeo, bishop of *Milan*, so justly celebrated for his exemplary piety, and almost unparalleled liberality and beneficence.

Gregory XV. conferred, in the year 1622, the honour of saintship on Theresia, a native of *Avila* in *Spain*, and a nun of the Carmelite order.

Urban VIII. in the year 1623, conferred the same ghostly honours on Philip Neri, the founder of

year 1696, is entitled, *Nodus Prædestinationis dissolutus.*—The Letters of the French bishops, with the answer of the Roman pontiff, are to be found in Du Plessis D'Argentre's *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 394. and Natalis Alexander's *Theologia Dogmatica et Moralis*, p. 877. The Letters of the bishops are remarkable in this respect, that they contain sharp animadversions against the Jesuits and their discipline. The prelates express, in the strongest terms, their abhorrence of the doctrine of *philosophical sin*, which has rendered the Jesuits so deservedly infamous, and their detestation of the methods of propagating Christianity employed by the missionaries of that Order in China. Nay, to express their aversion to the doctrine of Sfondrati, they say, that his opinions are *still* more *erroneous* and *pernicious* than *even* those of the *Molinists*. The doctrine of this cardinal has been accurately represented and compared with that of Augustin by the learned Basnage, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, livr. xii. c. iii. sect. xi. p. 713.

[*y*] The bull issued out by Urban VIII. for diminishing the number of the holidays celebrated in the church of Rome, may be seen in the *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, tom. xv. p. 88.

of the order entitled, *Fathers of the Oratory*, in *Italy;* on Ignatius Loyola, the parent of the Jesuits; and on his chief disciple Francis Xavier, the Jesuitical *Apostle of the Indians.*

Alexander VII. canonized, in the year 1658, Thomas de Villanova, a Spanish monk, of the Order of *St. Augustin;* and, in 1664, Francis de Sales, bishop of *Geneva.*

Clement X. added to this ghostly list, in the year 1670, Pedro de Alcantara, a Franciscan monk; and Maria Magdalena Bactii, a Florentine nun of the Carmelite Order; and, in the year 1671, Rose, an American Virgin, of the third Order of Dominic, and Lewis Bertrand, a Dominican monk.

Under the pontificate of Innocent XII. saintship was conferred upon Cajetan of *Vicenza*, a regular clerk of the order of Theatins, for whom that honour had been designed twenty years before, by Clement X. who died at the time the canonization was to have been performed; John of *Leon* a Hermit of *St. Augustin;* Paschal Baylonios, a Franciscan monk of the kingdom of *Arragon;* and John de Dieu, a Portuguese, and one of the Order of the *Brethren of Hospitality,* all of whom had been marked for a place in the Kalendar, by Alexander VIII. were solemnly canonized, in the year 1691, by Innocent XII [z].

[z] The *Diplomas* of the pontiffs, relative to all these canonizations may be seen in Justus Fontaninus' *Codex Constitutionum, quas summi Pontifices ediderunt in solemni Canonizatione sanctorum,* p. 260. published in folio at Rome, in the year 1729. As they contain the particular reasons which occasioned the elevation of these persons to a place in the Kalendar, and the peculiar kind of merit on which each of these ghostly promotions was founded, they offer abundant matter for reflection and censure to a judicious reader. Nor would it be labour ill employed to enquire, without prejudice or partiality, into the justice, piety, and truth of what the popes allege in these *Diplomas,* as the reasons inducing them to confer saintship on the persons therein mentioned.

CHAPTER II.

The History of the Greek and Oriental Churches.

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The state of the Greek church.

I. THE history of the Greek and Eastern Christians, faithfully and accurately composed, would, no doubt, furnish us with a variety of entertaining and useful records; but the events that happen, and the transactions that are carried on in these distant regions, are very rarely transmitted to us genuine and uncorrupted. The spirit of religious party, and the pious frauds it often engenders, want of proper information, and undistinguishing credulity, have introduced a fabulous mixture into the accounts we have of the state of the Christian religion in the East; and this consideration has engaged us to treat in a more concise manner, than would otherwise have been expedient, this particular branch of ecclesiastical history.

The Greek church, whose wretched situation was mentioned in the history of the preceding century, continued during the present one, in the same deplorable state of ignorance and decay, destitute of the means of acquiring or promoting solid and useful knowledge. This account is, however, to be considered as taken from a general view of that church; for several of its members may be alleged as exceptions from this general character of ignorance, superstition, and corruption. Among that multitude of Greeks who travel into *Sicily*, *Venice*, *Rome*, *England*, *Holland*, and *Germany*, or carry on trade in their own country, or fill honourable and important posts in the courts of the Turkish emperor, there are undoubtedly several, who are exempt from this reproach of ignorance and stupidity, of superstition

perstition and profligacy, and who make a figure by their opulence and credit [*a*]. But nothing can be more rooted and invincible than the aversion the Greeks in general discover to the Latin or Romish church; an aversion which neither promises nor threatenings, artifice nor violence, have been able to conquer, or even to temper or diminish, and which has continued inflexible and unrelenting amidst the most zealous efforts of the Roman pontiffs, and the various means employed by their numerous missionaries to gain over this people to their communion and jurisdiction [*b*]. It

[*a*] I have been led to these remarks by the complaints of Alexander Helladius, and others, who see things in the light in which he has placed them. There is still extant a book published in Latin by this author, in the year 1714, entitled *The present State of the Greek Church*, in which he throws out the bitterest reproaches upon several authors of eminent merit and learning, who have given accounts of that church, and maintains that his brethren of the Greek communion are much more pious, learned, wise and opulent, than they are commonly supposed to be. Instead of envying the Greeks the merit and felicity which this panegyrist supposes them possessed of, we sincerely wish them much greater degrees of both. But we observe, at the same time, that, from the very accounts given by Helladius, it would be easy to prove, that the state of the Greeks is not a whit better than it is generally supposed to be; though it may be granted, that the same ignorance, superstition, and immorality, do not abound alike in all places, nor among all persons. See what we have remarked on this subject in the accounts we have given of the Eastern church during the sixteenth century.

[*b*] The Jesuit Tarillon has given an ample relation of the numerous *Missions* in *Greece* and the other provinces of the Ottoman empire, and of the present state of these Missions, in his Letter to Pontchartraine, *Sur l'état present des Missions des Pères Jesuits dans la Grece*, which is published in the *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 1125. For an account of the state of the Romish religion in the islands of the Archipelago, see the letter of the Jesuit Xavier Portier, in the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses écrites des Missions étrangeres*, tom. x. p. 328. These accounts are, it is true, somewhat embellished, in order to advance the glory of the Jesuits, but the exaggerations of these missionaries may be easily corrected by the ac-

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It is true, indeed, that the Latin doctors have founded churches, in some of the islands of the *Archipelago*; but these congregations are poor and inconsiderable; nor will either the Greeks or their masters, the Turks, permit the Romish missionaries to extend further their spiritual jurisdiction.

The story of Cyrillus Lucar.

II. Under the pontificate of Urban VIII. great hopes were entertained of softening the antipathy of the Greeks against the Latin church, [c] and of engaging them, and the other Christians of the East, to embrace the communion of *Rome*, and acknowledge the supremacy and jurisdiction of its pontiff. This was the chief object that excited the ambitious zeal and employed the assiduous labour and activity of Urban, who called to his assistance such ecclesiastics as were most eminent for their acquaintance with Greek and Oriental learning, and with the tempers, manners, and characters of the Christians in those distant regions, that they might suggest the shortest and most effectual method of bringing them and their churches under the Roman yoke. The wisest

The hopes of an union between the Greek and Latin churches entirely dispelled.

counts of other writers, who, in our times, have treated this branch of ecclesiastical history. See above all others, R. Simon's (under the fictitious name of Saniose) *Bibliotheque Critique*, tom. i. c. xxiii. p. 340. and especially, p. 346. where the author confirms a remarkable fact, which we have mentioned above upon the authority of Urban Cerri, *viz.* that amidst the general dislike which the Greeks have of the Romish church, none carry this dislike to such a high degree of antipathy and aversion, as those very Greeks who have been educated at Rome, or in the other schools and seminaries belonging to its spiritual jurisdiction. "Ils sont (says Father Simon,) les premiers à crier contre et à medire du Pape et des Latins. Ces Pelerias Orientaux qui viennent chez nous fourbent et abusent de notre credulité pour acheter un benefice et tourmenter les missionaires Latins, *&c.*" We have still more recent and ample testimonies of the invincible hatred of the Greeks towards the Latins, in the *Preface* to Cowell's *Account of the present Greek Church*, printed at Cambridge, in the year 1723.

[c] See the Life of Morinus, which is prefixed to his *Antiquitates Eccles. Orient.* p. 37.

wisest of these counsellors advised the pontiff to lay it down for a preliminary in this difficult negociation, that the Greek and Eastern Christians were to be indulged in almost every point that had hitherto been refused them by the Romish missionaries, and that no alteration was to be introduced either into their ritual or doctrine; that their ceremonies were to be tolerated, since they did not concern the essence of religion; and that their doctrine was to be explained and understood in such a manner, as might give it a near and striking resemblance of the doctrine and institutions of the church of *Rome*. In defence of this method of proceeding, it was judiciously observed, that the Greeks would be much more tractable and obsequious, were they told by the missionaries, that it was not meant to convert them; that they had always been Roman-catholics in reality, though not in profession; and that the popes had no intention of persuading them to abandon the doctrine of their ancestors, but only desired that they would understand it in its true and genuine sense. This plan gave rise to a variety of laborious productions, in which there was more learning than probity, and more dexterity than candour and good faith. Such were the treatises published by Leo Allatius, Morinus, Clement Galanus, Lucas Holstenius, Abraham Echellensis [*d*], and others who pretended

[*d*] The book of Leo Allatius, *De concordia Ecclesiæ Orientalis & Occidentalis*, is well known, and deservedly looked upon, by the most learned men among the Protestants, as the work of a disingenuous and insidious writer. The *Græcia Orthodoxa* of the same author, which was published at Rome in the year 1652, in 4to, and contains a compilation from all the books of the Grecian doctors that were well affected to the Latin church, is still extant.—We have nothing of Lucas Holstenius (who was superior to Allatius in learning and sagacity) upon this subject, except two posthumous dissertations,

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ed to demonstrate, that there was little or no difference between the religion of the Greeks, Armenians, and Nestorians, and that of the church of *Rome*, a few ceremonies excepted, together with some unusual phrases and terms that are peculiar to the Christians of the East.

The design of bringing, by artful compliances, the Greek and Eastern churches under the jurisdiction of *Rome* was opposed by many; but by none with more resolution and zeal than by Cyrillus Lucar, patriarch of *Constantinople*, a man of extensive learning and knowledge of the world, who had travelled through a great part of *Europe*, and was well acquainted with the doctrine and discipline, both of the Protestant and Romish churches. This prelate declared openly, and indeed with more courage than prudence, that he had a strong propensity to the religious sentiments of the English and Dutch churches, and had conceived the design of reforming the doctrine and ritual of the Greeks, and bringing them nearer to the purity and simplicity of the Gospel. This was sufficient to render the venerable patriarch odious to the friends of *Rome*. And accordingly the Jesuits, seconded by

sertations, *De ministro et forma sacramenti confirmatines apud Græcos*, which were published at *Rome* in the year 1666.—The treatises of Morinus, *De penitentia et ordinationibus*, are known to all the learned, and seem expressly composed to make the world believe, that there is a striking uniformity of sentiment between the Greek and Latin churches on these two important points, when, laying aside the difference that scholastic terms and peculiar modes of expression may appear to occasion, we attend to the meaning that is annexed to these terms by the members of the two communions. Galanus, in a long and laborious work, published at *Rome* in the year 1650, has endeavoured to prove, that the Armenians differ very little from the Latins in their religious opinions; and Abraham Echellensis has attempted to convince us in several treatises (and more especially in his *Animadversiones ad Hebed. Jesu Catalogum librorum Chaldaicorum*), that all Christians throughout *Africa* and *Asia* have the same system of doctrine that is received among the Latins.

by the credit and influence of the French ambassador, and assisted by the treacherous stratagems of some perfidious Greeks, continued to perplex and persecute the good man in various ways, and at length accomplished his ruin; for, by the help of false witnesses, they obtained an accusation of treason against him; in consequence of which he was put to death in the year 1638, by the order of the Emperor [*e*]. He was succeeded by Cyrillus, bishop of *Berea*, a man of a dark, malignant, and violent spirit, and the infamous instrument the Jesuits had chiefly employed in bringing him to an untimely end. As this new patriarch declared himself openly in favour of the Latins, the reconciliation of the Greeks with the church of *Rome* seemed more probable than ever, nay, almost certain [*f*]; but the dismal fate of this

[*e*] The *Confession of Faith*, drawn up by Cyrillus Lucar, was published in *Holland* in the year 1645; and is also inserted by Aymon, in his *Monumens authentiques de la Religion des Grecs*, p. 237. By this confession, it appears evidently, that Cyrillus had a stronger inclination towards the doctrine of the reformed churches, than to that which was commonly received among the Greeks. Nor was he, by any means, ill-affected towards the Lutherans, since he addressed several letters to the Swedish clergy about this time, and solicited their friendship, as appears from the learned Arkenholtz's *Memoires de la Reine* Christine, tom. i. p. 486. tom. ii. Append. p. 113. —Aymon, has published in the work already mentioned, p. 1—109, twenty-seven letters of this Patriarch to the clergy of *Geneva*, and to the Doctors of the Reformed church, in which his religious sentiments are still more plainly discovered. His life, transactions and deplorable fate, have been recorded by Thomas Smith, a learned divine of the English church, in his *Narratio de Vitâ, Studiis, Gestis et Martyrio* Cyrilla Lucaris, which is the third article of his *Miscellanea*, published at *London* in 8vo, in the year 1686; as also by Hottinger, in his *Analect. Historica-Theolog. Appendic.* dissert. viii. p. 550. and by other authors mentioned by Fabricius in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. x. p. 409.

[*f*] See Eliæ Vegelii *Defensio Exerc. de Ecclesiâ Græcâ* p. 300. where we find the letters of the Roman pontiff Urban VIII. to Cyrillus of *Berea*, in which he loads with applause this

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this unworthy prelate dispelled all of a sudden the pleasing hopes and the anxious fears with which *Rome* and its adversaries beheld the approach of this important event. The same violent death that had concluded the days of Cyrillus Lucar pursued his successor, in whose place Parthenius, a zealous opposer of the doctrine and ambitious pretensions of *Rome*, was raised to the patriarchal dignity. After this period, the Roman pontiffs desisted from their attempts upon the Greek church, no favourable opportunity being offered either of deposing its patriarchs, or gaining them over to the Romish communion.

Whether or not the Romish doctors and missionaries contributed to the corruption of the doctrine of the Greek church.

III. Notwithstanding these unsuccessful attempts of the Roman pontiffs to reduce the Greek church under their dominion, many allege, and more especially the reformed clergy complain, that the doctrine of that church has been manifestly corrupted by the emissaries of *Rome*. It is supposed, that in later times, the munificence of the French ambassadors at the *Port*, and the persuasive sophistry of the Jesuits, have made such irresistible impressions on the avarice and ignorance of the Greek bishops, whose poverty is great, that they have departed, in several points, from the religious system of their ancestors, and have adopted, among other errors of the Romish church, the monstrous and unnatural doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. This change is said to have been more especially brought about in the famous council, which was assembled, in the year, 1672,

this new patriarch, for having been so instrumental in banishing from among the Greeks the pernicious errors of Cyrillus Lucar, and warmly exhorts him to depose all the Greek patriarchs and bishops that are not favourable to the Latin Church. These exhortations are seconded by flattering promises, and, particularly, by an assurance of protection and succour from the King of Spain. Cyrillus of Berea died in the communion of the Romish Church. See Hen. Hillarii *Not. ad* Phil. Cyprii *Chron. Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, p. 470.

1672, at *Jerusalem*, by Dositheus, the patriarch of that city [*g*]. Without entering into an examination of the truth and equity of this charge brought against the Greek bishops, we shall only observe that it was the controversy between the Roman Catholics and Protestants in *France* that first gave rise to it. The latter, and more especially John Claude, so justly celebrated for his extensive learning and masterly eloquence, maintained, that many of the doctrines of the Romish church, and more particularly that of *Transubstantiation*, were of a modern date, and had never been heard of before the ninth century. The Roman Catholics on the contrary, with Arnaud at their head, affirmed, that the doctrine of *Rome*, concerning the *Eucharist*, and the *real* conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ in that holy ordinance, had been received by Christians in all ages of the church [*h*]. To strengthen their cause further by authorities, that they imagined would have no small influence upon their adversaries, they ventured to assert that this doctrine was adopted by all the Eastern Christians, and particularly by the Greek churches [*i*]

This

[*g*] See, for an account of this council, Aymon, *Memoires Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs*, tom. i. p. 263.—Gisberti Cuperi *Epistolæ*, p. 404, 407.—See, more especially, the judicious and learned observations of Basnage on the transactions of this council, in his *Histoire de la Religion des Eglises Reformées*, period iv. p. i. c. xxxii. p. 452. and Cowell's *Account of the Present State of the Greek Church*, book i. chap. v. p. 136.

☞ [*h*] It was to prove this most groundless assertion, that the famous Nicolle, published his artful book, *De la Perpetuite de la Foi*, in the year 1664, which was answered with a victorious force of evidence by the learned Claude.

[*i*] The names and productions of the principal writers that appeared in this controversy may be found in the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius, vol. x. p. 144. and in the learned Pfaff's *Dissertatio contr.* Ludov. Logerii *Opus Eucharisticum*, published at Tubingen in the year 1718.

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This bold assertion required striking and authentic testimonies to give it any degree of credit. Accordingly the ambassador of *France*, residing at *Constantinople*, received orders from his court to concur with the Jesuits, and to leave no methods unemployed in procuring certificates from the Greek clergy to confirm this assertion. On the other hand, the English and Dutch ambassadors, persuaded that no such doctrine was really professed in the Greek church, procured also the testimonies of several ecclesiastics, in order to take from the Roman Catholic disputants this pretext; which, after all, was of no great consequence, as it did not affect the merits of the cause. The result, however, of this scrutiny, was favourable to the Romish doctors, whose agents in foreign parts procured a more numerous list of testimonies than their adversaries could produce. The Protestants invalidated these testimonies, by proving fully, that many of them were obtained by bribery from the indigent Greeks, whose deplorable poverty made them sacrifice truth to lucre; and that a great number of them were drawn by artifice from ignorant priests, whom the Jesuits deceived, by disguising the doctrines of *Rome* in such a manner as to give them a Grecian air, and make them resemble the religious system of the Eastern churches [*k*]. Granting all this to be true, it may nevertheless be justly questioned, whether the admission of certain doctrines in the Greek church that resembled the errors of Popery is to be dated from the period now before us; and whoever

[*k*] Here, above all other histories, the reader will do well to consult Cowell's *Account of the present State of the Greek Church*, Pref. p. 2. and also book i. chap. v. p. 136. as this author was actually at *Constantinople* when the scene of fraud and bribery was carried on, and was an eye witness of the insidious arts and perfidious practices employed by the Jesuits to obtain from the Greek priests and monks testimonies in favour of the doctrine of the Latin or Romish church.

whoever examines this controversy with a spirit of impartiality, accompanied with a competent knowledge of the history of the religious doctrine of the Greek churches, will perhaps find that a certain vague and obscure notion, similar to the Romish doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, has been received during many ages by several of these churches; though in these latter times, they may have learnt from the Romish missionaries, the Popish manner of expressing this monstrous and unaccountable tenet [*l*].

The Russian church.

IV. Of those independent Greek churches, which are governed by their own laws, and are not subject to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Constantinople*, there is none but the church established in *Russia* that can furnish any matter for an ecclesiastical historian; the rest are sunk in the most deplorable ignorance and barbarity that can possibly be imagined. About the year 1666, a certain sect, which assumed the name of *Isbraniki*, i. e. *the multitude of the Elect*, but were called by their adversaries *Roskolsnika*, or the *seditious Faction*, arose in *Russia*, and excited considerable tumults and commotions in that kingdom [*m*]. The reasons that this sect alleges in defence of its separation from the Russian church, are not as yet known with any degree of certainty; nor have we any satisfactory or accurate account of its doctrines and institutions [*n*]; we only know in general, that its members affect an extraordinary air of

[*l*] The learned La Croze, who cannot be suspected of any propensity to favour the cause of *Rome* in general, or that of the Jesuits in particular, was of opinion that the Greeks had been long in possession of the foolish doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. See Gisberti Cuperi *Epistol.* p. 37. 44. 48. 51. 65.

[*m*] These perhaps are the same persons of whom the learned Gmelin speaks, under the denomination of Sterowerzi, in the account of his *Voyage into Siberia*, tom. iv. p. 404.

☞ [*n*] This sect is called by other authors, the sect of the *Roskolniki*. According to the account of Voltaire, who pretends

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of piety and devotion, and complain of the corruptions introduced into the ancient religion of the Russians, partly by the negligence, and partly by the ambition, of the Episcopal Order [o]. On the other hand, great pains were taken to conquer the obstinacy of this factious sect; arguments, promises, threatenings, dragoonings, the authority of synods and councils, seconded by racks and gibbets; in a word, all the methods that

pretends to have drawn the materials of his *History of the Russian Empire under* Peter I. from authentic records furnished by the court of Petersburg, this sect made its first appearance in the twelfth century. The members of it allege, in defence of their separation, the corruptions, both in doctrine and discipline, that have been introduced into the Russian Church. They profess a rigorous zeal for the *Letter* of Holy Scripture, which they do not understand; and the transposition of a single word in a new edition of the Russian Bible, though this transposition was made to correct an uncouth phrase in the translation commonly received, threw them into the greatest combustion and tumult. They will not allow a priest to administer baptism after having tasted spirituous liquor; and in this, perhaps they do not amiss, since it is well known, that the Russian priests seldom touch the flask without drinking deep. They hold, that there is no subordination of rank, no superior or inferior among the faithful; that a Christian may kill himself for the love of Christ; that *Hallelujah* must be but twice pronounced; and that it is a great sin to repeat it thrice; and that a priest must never give a blessing but with three fingers. They are regular, even to austerity in their manners; but as they have always refused to admit Christians of other denominations into their religious assemblies, they have been suspected of committing in them various abominations, which ought not to be believed without the strongest demonstrative proof. They are accused, for example, of killing a child in these assemblies, and of drinking its blood, and of lascivious commerce in its most irregular forms.

[o] See Bergius, *De Statu Ecclesiæ Religionis Muscoviticæ*, sect. xi. cap. vii. p. 69. sect ii. cap. xvi. p. 218.—*Append.* 270.—Heineccius' *Account of the Greek Church*, written in German, p. 30.—Haven's *Iter Russicum.*—Some doctors conjecture, that these *Isbraniki*, or *Roskolniki*, are a branch descended from the ancient Bogomilians, of whom we have already given some account, cent. xii. p. ii. chap. v. sect. ii.

that artifice or barbarity could suggest were practised to bring back these seditious heretics into the bosom of the church. But the effect of these violent measures by no means answered the expectations of the Russian government; they exasperated, instead of reclaiming, these shismatics, who retired into the woods and desarts, and as it often happens, were rendered more fierce and desperate by the calamities and sufferings in which they were involved. From that time that Peter the Great ascended the throne of *Russia*, and made such remarkable changes in the form and administration both of its civil and ecclesiastical government, this faction has been treated with more humanity and mildness; but it is alleged, that these mild proceedings have by no means healed the schism; and that, on the contrary, the Roskolniki have gained strength, and are become still more obstinate since the period now mentioned.

The change introduced into the Russian church by Peter I.

V. It will not be improper here to give some account of this reformation of the church of *Russia*, that was owing to the active zeal and wisdom of Peter I. for though this interesting event belongs to the history of the following century, yet the scheme, by which it was brought about, was laid towards the conclusion of that now before us. This great prince made no change in the articles of faith received among the Russians, and which contain the doctrine of the Greek church. But he took the utmost pains to have this doctrine explained in a manner conformable to the dictates of right reason and the spirit of the Gospel; and he used the most effectual methods to destroy, on the one hand, the influence of that hideous superstition that sat brooding over the whole nation; and, on the other, to dispel the ignorance of the clergy, which was incredible, and that of the people, which would have surpassed it, had that been

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been possible. These were great and arduous undertakings; and the reformation, to which they pointed, was such as seemed to require whole ages to accomplish and bring to any tolerable degree of perfection. To accelerate the execution of this glorious plan, Peter I. became a zealous protector and patron of arts and sciences. He encouraged, by various instances of munificence, men of learning and genius to settle in his dominions. He reformed the schools that were sunk in ignorance and barbarism, and erected new seminaries of learning. He endeavoured to excite in his subjects a desire of emerging from their ignorance and brutality, and a taste for knowledge and the useful arts. And, to crown all these noble attempts, he extinguished the infernal spirit of persecution; abolished the penal laws against those that differed merely in religious opinion from the established church; and granted to Christians of all denominations liberty of conscience, and the privilege of performing divine worship in the manner prescribed by their respective liturgies and institutions. This liberty, however, was modified in such a prudent manner, as to restrain and defeat any attempts that might be made by the Latins to promote the interests of Popery in *Russia*, or to extend the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff beyond the chapels of that communion that were tolerated by law. For though Roman Catholics were allowed places for the celebration of divine worship, yet the Jesuits were not permitted to exercise the functions of missionaries or public teachers in *Russia*, and a particular charge was given to the council, to which belonged the cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs, to use their utmost care and vigilance to prevent the propagation of Romish tenets among the people.

Besides

Besides all this, a notable change was now introduced into the manner of governing the church. The splendid dignity of patriarchs, which approached too near the lustre and prerogatives of majesty, not to be offensive to the emperor and burthensome to the people, was suppressed, or rather assumed by this spirited prince, who declared himself the supreme pontiff and head of the Russian church [*p*]. The functions of this high and important office were intrusted with a council assembled at *Petersburg*, which was called the *Holy Synod*, and in which one of the *archbishops*, the most distinguished by his integrity and prudence, was appointed as president. This honourable office was filled by the famous Stephen Javorsci, who composed a laborious work, in the Russian language, against heresy [*q*]. The other orders of the clergy continued in their respective rank and offices: but both their revenues and their authority were considerably diminished. It was resolved at first, in this general reformation, to abolish all monasteries and convents, as prejudicial to the community, and unfriendly to population; but this resolution was not put in execu-

☞ [*p*] This account is not perhaps entirely accurate. Dr. Mosheim seems to insinuate that Peter assumed not only the authority but also the office and title of patriarch or supreme pontiff, and head of the church. This, however, was not the case; he retained the power without the title, as may be seen by the oath that every member of the synod he had established was obliged to take, when he was appointed to that office. It was in consequence of his authority, as emperor, that he claimed an absolute authority in the church, and not from any ghostly character or denomination. The oath now mentioned ran thus: "I swear and promise to be a faithful and obedient subject and servant to my true and natural sovereign, and to the august successors it shall please him to appoint, in consequence of the indisputable power he has to regulate the succession to the crown. I acknowledge him as the supreme judge of this spiritual college," &c. See Voltaire's *Histoire de l'Empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand*, tom. i. p. 174.

[*q*] Le quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1295.

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tion; on the contrary, the emperor himself erected a magnificent monastery in honour of Alexander Newsky, whom the Russians place in the list of their heroes [*r*].

The state of the Monophysites.

VI. A small body of the *Monophysites* in *Asia* abandoned, for some time, the doctrine and institutions of their ancestors, and embraced the communion of *Rome*. This step was entirely owing to the suggestions and intrigues of a person named Andrew Achigian, who had been educated at *Rome*, where he imbibed the principles of Popery, and having obtained the title and dignity of patriarch from the Roman pontiff, assumed the denomination of Ignatius XXIV. [*s*] After the death of this pretended patriarch, another usurper, whose name was Peter, aspired after the same dignity, and, taking the title of Ignatius XXV. placed himself in the patriarchal chair; but the lawful patriarch of the sect had credit enough with the Turks to procure the deposition and banishment of this pretender; and thus the small congregation which acknowledged his jurisdiction was entirely dispersed [*t*]. The African Monophysites, and more especially the *Copts*, notwithstanding that poverty and ignorance which exposed them to the seductions of sophistry and

[*r*] Those who are acquainted with either the Danish or German languages, will find several interesting anecdotes relating to these changes in Haven's *Iter Russicum*.

[*s*] From the fifteenth century downwards, all the patriarchs of the Monophysites have taken the name of Ignatius, and that for no other reason than to shew that they are the lineal successors of Ignatius, who was bishop of Antioch in the first century, and of consequence the lawful patriarchs of Antioch. A like reason induces the religious chief of the Maronites, who also lays claim to the same dignity, to assume the name of Peter; for St. Peter is said to have governed the church of Antioch before Ignatius.

[*t*] Jo. Simon. Assemanni *Biblioth Orientalis, Clementino-Vatican*, tom. ii. p. 482. and his *Dissert. de Monophysitis*, sect. iii. p. 6, 7.

and gain, stood firm in their principles, and made an obstinate resistance to the promises, presents, and attempts, employed by the papal missionaries to bring them under the Roman yoke.—With respect to the *Abyssinians*, we have mentioned already, in its proper place, the revolution by which they delivered themselves from that tyrannical yoke, and resumed the liberty they had so imprudently renounced. It is proper, however, to take notice here of the zeal discovered by the Lutherans, in their attempts to dispel the ignorance and superstition of this people, and to bring them to the knowledge of a purer religion, and a more rational worship. It was with this pious design that the learned Heyling, of *Lubec*, undertook a voyage into *Ethiopia* in the year 1634, where he resided many years, and acquired such a distinguished place in the favour and esteem of the emperor, that he was honoured with the high and important office of prime minister of that mighty empire. In this eminent station he gave many instances of his zeal both for the interests of religion and the public good; after which he set out for *Europe*, but never arrived there, nor is it known in what manner, or by what accident, he ended his days [*u*].

Several years after this, Ernest, Duke of *Saxe-Gotha*, surnamed the *Pious*, on account of his eminent sanctity and virtue, formed the resolution of making a new attempt to spread the knowledge of the Gospel, in its purity and simplicity, among the ignorant and superstitious Abyssinians. This design was formed by the counsels and suggestions of the famous Ludolph, and was to have been executed by the ministry of Abbot Gregory, an

 Abyssinian,

[*u*] A very curious life of Heyling was published in German by Dr. Michælis at Hall, in 1724.—See also Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 253.

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Abyssinian, who had resided for some time in *Europe* [*w*]. The unhappy fate of this missionary, who perished in a shipwreck in the year 1657, did not totally discourage the prince from pursuing his purpose; for, in the year 1663, he entrusted the same pious and important commission with John Michael Wansleb, a native of *Erfurt*, to whom he gave the wisest orders, and whom he charged particularly to leave no means unemployed that might contribute to give the Abyssinian nation a favourable opinion of the Germans, as it was upon this basis alone that the success of the present enterprize could be built. Wansleb, however, whose virtue was by no means equal to his abilities, instead of continuing his journey to *Abyssinia*, remained several years in *Egypt*. On his return from thence into *Europe*, he began to entertain uneasy apprehensions of the account that would naturally be demanded both of his conduct, and of the manner in which he had employed the sums of money he received for his Abyssinian expedition. These apprehensions rendered him desperate, because they were attended with a consciousness of guilt. Hence, instead of returning into *Germany*, he went directly to *Rome*, where in the year 1667, he embraced, at least in outward profession, the doctrine of that church, and entered into the Dominican Order [*x*]. Thus the pious designs of the best of princes failed in the execution. To them, however, we are indebted for the great light that has been thrown by the learned and laborious Ludolph on the history, doctrine,

[*w*] See Ludolphi *Proëmium ad Comm. in Hist. Æthiop.* p. 31.—Junckeri *Vita* Jobi Ludolphi, p. 68.

[*x*] For an account of this inconstant and worthless, but learned man, see Lobo, *Voyage d'Abyes.* tom. i. p. 198, 127, 233, 248.—Cyprian, *Catalog. MSS. Biblioth Gothanæ*, p. 64. Eus. Renaudot, *Pref. ad Histor. Patriarch. Alexand.* Echard and Quetif. *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædic.* tom. ii. p. 693. See the same authors, *Historia Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ.*

doctrine, literature, and manners of the Abyssinians, which before this period were but very superficially known in *Europe*.

The state of the Armenians.

VII. The state of the Christians in *Armenia* underwent a considerable change soon after the commencement of this century, in consequence of the incursions of Abbas *the Great*, King of *Persia*, into that province. This prince laid waste all that part of *Armenia* that lay contiguous to his dominions, and ordered the inhabitants to retire into *Persia*. These devastations were designed to prevent the Turks from approaching to his frontier; for the Eastern monarchs, instead of erecting fortified towns on the borders of their respective kingdoms, as is done by the European princes, laid waste their borders upon the approach of the enemy, that, by thus cutting off the means of their subsistence, their progress might be either entirely stopped, or considerably retarded. In this general emigration, the more opulent and better sort of the Armenians removed to *Ispahan*, the capital of *Persia*, where the generous monarch granted them a beautiful suburb for their residence, with the free exercise of their religion, under the jurisdiction of a bishop or patriarch. Under the reign of this magnanimous prince, who cherished his people with a paternal tenderness, these happy exiles enjoyed the sweets of liberty and abundance; but after his death the scene changed, and they were involved in calamities of various kinds [*y*]. The storm of persecution that arose upon them shook their constancy; many of them apostatized to the Mahometan religion, so that it was justly to be feared that this branch of the Armenian church would gradually perish. On the other hand, the state of religion

[*y*] See Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 106.—Gabriel du Chinon, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, p. 206.

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in that church derived considerable advantages from the settlement of a prodigious number of Armenians in different parts of *Europe* for the purposes of commerce. These merchants, who had fixed their residence, during this century, at *London*, *Amsterdam*, *Marseilles*, and *Venice* [z]. were not unmindful of the interest of religion in their native country. And their situation furnished them with favourable opportunities of exerting their zeal in this good cause, and particularly of supplying their Asiatic brethren with Armenian translations of the Holy Scriptures, and of other theological books, from the European presses, especially from those of *England* and *Holland*. These pious and instructive productions being dispersed among the Armenians, who lived under the Persian and Turkish governments, contributed, no doubt, to preserve that illiterate and superstitious people from falling into the most consummate and deplorable ignorance.

The state of the Nestorians.

VIII. The divisions that reigned among the Nestorians in the preceeding century still subsisted; and all the methods that had been employed to heal them proved hitherto ineffectual. Some of the Nestorian bishops discovered a propensity to accommodate matters with the church of *Rome*. Elias II. bishop of *Mosul*, sent two private embassies to the Pope, in the years 1607 and 1610. to solicit his friendship; and, in the letter he addressed upon that occasion to Paul IV. declared his

[z] For an account of the Armenians who settled at Marseilles, and of the books they took care to have printed in that city for the use of their brethren in foreign parts, see Richard Simon's *Lettres Choisies*, tom. ii. p. 137.—The same author (tom. iv. p. 160.) and the learned John Joachim Schroder, in a Dissertation prefixed to his *Thesaurus Linguæ Armenicæ*. give an account of the Armenian Bible that was printed in Holland. The latter also takes notice of the other Armenian books that were published at Venice, Lyons, and Amsterdam, *loc. cit.* cap. ii. sect. xxv. p. 38.

his desire to bring about a reconciliation between the Nestorians and the Latin church [*a*]. Elias III. though at first extremely averse to the doctrine and institution of that church, changed his sentiments in this respect; and, in the year 1657, addressed a letter to the congregation *De propaganda Fide*, in which he intimated his readiness to join with the church of *Rome*, on condition that the Pope would allow the Nestorians a place of public worship in that city, and would abstain from all attempts to alter the doctrine or discipline of the sect [*b*]. The Romish doctors could not but perceive that a reconciliation, founded on such conditions as these, would be attended with no advantage to their church, and promised nothing that could flatter the ambition of their pontiff. And accordingly we do not find that the proposal above mentioned was accepted. It does not appear that the Nestorians were received, at this time, into the communion of the Romish church, or that the bishops of *Mosul* were, after this period, at all solicitous about the friendship or good-will of the Roman pontiff. The Nestorian bishops of *Ormus*, who successively assume the name of Simeon, proposed also, more than once [*c*] plans of reconciliation with the church of *Rome;* and, with that view, sent the Roman pontiff a confession of their faith, that gave a clear idea of their religious tenets and institutions. But these proposals were little attended to by the court of *Rome*, which was either owing to its dislike of the doctrine of these Nestorians [*d*], or to that contempt which their poverty and want of influence

[*a*] Jos. Sim. Assemanni *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 543. tom. iii. p. 457. tom. iii. p. i. p. 650.

[*b*] Assemanni *loc. cit.* tom. iii. p. 2.

[*c*] In the year 1619 and 1653.

[*d*] Assemanni *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 531. tom. ii. p. 457. tom. iii. p. i. p. 622.

excited in the pontiffs, whose ambition and avidity aimed at acquisitions of more consequence; for it is well known, that, since the year 1617, the bishops of *Ormus* have been in a low and declining state, both in point of opulence and credit, and are no longer in a condition to excite the envy of their brethren at *Mosul* [*e*]. The Romish missionaries gained over, nevertheless, to their communion, a handful of Nestorians, whom they formed into a congregation or church, about the middle of this century. The bishops or patriarchs of this little flock reside in the city of *Amida*, or *Diarbeker*, and all assume the denomination of Joseph [*f*]. The Nestorians, who inhabit the coasts of *Malabar*, and are called the Christians of St. Thomas, suffered innumerable vexations, and the most grievous persecution from the Romish priests, and more especially the Jesuits, while these settlements were in the hands of the Portuguese; but neither artifice nor violence could engage them to embrace the communion of *Rome* [*g*]. But when *Cochin* was taken by the Dutch in the year 1663, and the Portuguese were driven out of these quarters, the persecuted Nestorians resumed their primitive liberty, and were reinstated in the privilege of serving God without molestation, according to their consciences. These blessings they still continue to enjoy; nor are such of them as entered into the communion of *Rome* disturbed by the Dutch, who are used to treat with toleration and indulgence all sects who live peaceably with those who differ from them in religious opinions and ceremonies.

[*e*] Pet. Strozza, *Præf. ad librum de Chaldæorum dogmatibus.*

[*f*] See Lequien *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1078.

[*g*] Le Croze *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, livr. v. p. 344.

[*h*] Schouten *Voyage aux Indes Orient.* tom. i. p. 312. 546.

SECTION II.

PART II.

The History of the Modern Churches.

CHAP. I.

The History of the Lutheran Church.

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I. WE have already seen [*a*] the calamities and vexations the Lutheran church suffered from the persecuting spirit of the Roman pontiffs, and the intemperate zeal of the house of *Austria*, which, on many occasions, shewed too great a propensity to second their ambitious and despotic measures; we shall therefore, at present confine our view to the losses it sustained from other quarters. The cause of Lutheranism suffered considerably by the desertion of Maurice, Landgrave of *Hesse*, a prince of uncommon genius and learning, who not only embraced the doctrine and discipline of the *Reformed* church [*b*], but also in the year 1604, removed the Lutheran professors from their places in the University of *Marpurg*, and the doctors of that communion from the churches they had in his dominions. Maurice, after taking this vigorous step, on account of the obstinacy with which the Lutheran clergy opposed his

The Lutheran church loses ground in some places.

The Hessians embrace Calvinism.

[*a*] In the History of the Romish Church.—See above.

☞ [*b*] The reader must always remember, that the writers of the continent generally use the denomination of Reformed in a limited sense, to distinguish the Church of England and the Calvinistical Churches from those of the Lutheran persuasion.

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his design took particular care to have his subjects instructed in the doctrine of the Helvetic church, and introduced into the Hessian churches the form of public worship that was observed at *Geneva*. This plan was not executed without some difficulty; but it acquired a complete degree of stability and consistence in the year 1619, when deputies were sent by this prince to the synod of *Dort*, in *Holland*, with express orders to consent, in the name of the Hessian churches, to all the acts that should be passed in that assembly. The doctors of the Reformed church, who lived at this period, defended strenuously the measures followed by Maurice, and maintained, that in all these transactions he observed the strictest principles of equity, and discovered an uncommon spirit of moderation. Perhaps the doctors of modern days may view this matter in a different point of light. They will acknowledge, perhaps without hesitation, that if this illustrious prince had been more influenced by the sentiments of the wisest of the Reformed doctors, concerning the conduct we ought to observe towards those who differ from us in religious matters, and less by his own will and humour, he would have ordered many things otherwise than he actually did [*c*].

The new Reformation takes place in Brandenburg.

II. The example of the Landgrave of *Hesse* was followed, in the year 1614, by John Sigismund, elector

[*c*] The reader will find a more ample account of this matter in the controversial writings of the divines of *Cassel* and *Dermstadt.* published at *Cassel, Marpurg,* and *Giessen,* in the years 1632, 1636, 1647; and of which Salig speaks largely in his *Hist. Aug. Confess.* tom. i. lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 756. Those who understand the German language, may also consult Garth's *Historischer Bericht von dem Religions Wessen in Furstenthum Hessen,* 1706, in 4to. Cyprian's *Unterricht von Kirchlicher Vereinigung der Protestanten,* p. 263. and Appendix, p. 101.—As also the *Acts* published in the *Unschuldigen Nachrichten,* A. 1749. p. 25.

elector of *Brandenburg*; who also renounced Lutheranism, and embraced the communion of the Reformed churches, though with certain restrictions, and without employing any acts of mere authority to engage his subjects in the same measure. For it is observable, that this prince did not adopt all the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism. He introduced, indeed, into his dominions the form of public worship, that was established at *Geneva*, and he embraced the sentiments of the Reformed churches concerning the *person* of Christ, and the manner in which *he is present* in the eucharist, as they appeared to him much more conformable to reason and scripture than the doctrine of the Lutherans relating to these points. But, on the other hand, he refused to admit the Calvinistical doctrine of *Divine Grace* and *Absolute Decrees*; and, on this account, neither sent deputies to the synod of *Dort*, nor adopted the decisions of that famous assembly on these intricate subjects. This way of thinking was so exactly followed by the successors of Sigismund, that they never would allow the opinion of Calvin concerning the *Divine Decrees*, to be considered as the public and received doctrine of the Reformed churches in their dominions. It must be particularly mentioned to the honour of this wise prince, that he granted to his subjects an entire liberty in religious matters, and left it to their unrestrained and free choice, whether they would remain in the profession of Lutheranism, or follow the example of their sovereign; nor did he exclude from civil honours and employments, or from the usual marks of his protection and favour, those who continued in the faith of their ancestors. This lenity and moderation, which seemed so adapted to prevent jealousy and envy, and to satisfy both parties, did not however produce this natural and salutary effect; nor were they sufficient

cient to restrain within the bounds of decency and charity several warm and inconsiderate votaries of Lutheranism. These over-zealous persons, who breathed the violent spirit of an age in which matters of consequence were usually carried on with vehemence and rigour, looked upon it as intolerable and highly provoking,—that the Lutherans and Calvinists should enjoy the same honours and prerogatives,—that all injurious terms and odious comparisons should be banished from religious debates—that the controverted points in theology should either be entirely omitted in the sermons and public discourses of the clergy, or explained with a spirit of modesty and Christian charity,—that certain rites which displeased the Calvinists should be totally abolished,—and that they who differed in opinions, should be obliged to live in peace, concord, and the mutual exchange of good offices. If it was unreasonable in them to be offended at injunctions of this nature, it was still more so to discover their indignation in a manner that excited not only sharp and uncharitable debates, but also civil commotions and violent tumults, that disturbed considerably the tranquillity of the state, and nourished a spirit of sedition and revolt, which the labour of years was employed to extinguish in vain. In this troubled state of things, the divines of *Saxony*, and more especially those of *Wittemberg*, undertook to defend the Lutheran cause; but if it be acknowledged, on the one hand, that their views were good, and their intentions upright; it must be owned, on the other, that their style was keen even to a degree of licentiousness, and their zeal warm beyond all measure. And, indeed, as it generally happens, their want of moderation hurt, instead of promoting, the cause in which they had embarked; for it was in consequence of their violent proceedings, that the *Form of Concord* was suppressed

pressed in the territories of *Brandenburg*, and the subjects of that electorate prohibited by a solemn edict, from studying divinity in the academy of *Wittemberg* [*d*].

Attempts made towards a union between the Lutheran and Reformed churches.

III. It was deplorable to see two churches, which had discovered an equal degree of pious zeal and fortitude in throwing off the despotic yoke of *Rome*, divided among themselves, and living in discords that were highly detrimental to the interests of religion, and the well-being of society. Hence several eminent divines and leading men, both among the Lutherans and Calvinists, sought anxiously after some method of uniting the two churches, though divided in their opinions, in the bonds of Christian charity and ecclesiastical communion. A competent knowledge of human nature and human passions was sufficient to persuade these wise and pacific mediators, that a perfect uniformity in religious opinions

[*d*] The edicts of Sigismund and his successors, relating to this change in the state of religion in Brandenburg, have been several times republished in one collection. Besides these there are many books, treatises, and pamphlets, which give an account of this remarkable transaction, and of which the reader will find a complete list in the German work, entitled, *Unschuldigen Nachrichten*, An. 1745, p. 34. A. 1746. p. 326. compared with Jo. Carol. Kocheri *Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbolicæ*, p. 312.—The reader who desires to attain to a perfect acquaintance with this controversy, and to be able to weigh the merits of the cause, by having a true state of the case before him, will do well to consult Arnoldi *Histor. Eccles. et Hæret.* p. ii. lib. xvii. c. vii. p. 965.—Cyprian's *Unterright von der Vereingung der Protestant*, p. 75. and *in Append. Monum.* p. 225.—*Unschuldigen Nachrichten*, A. 1729, p. 1067, *et* A. 1732, p. 1715.—They who affirm that the elector's ultimate end, in changing the face of religion in his dominions, was not the prospect of augmenting and extending his authority, found their opinion rather on conjecture than on demonstration; nor do they confirm this assertion by testimonies that are sufficient to bring full conviction. It must, however, be acknowledged, on the other hand, that their conjectures have neither an absurd nor an improbable aspect.

nions was not practicable, and that it would be entirely extravagant to imagine that any of these communities could ever be brought to embrace universally, and without limitation, the doctrines of the other. They made it, therefore, their principal business to persuade those, whose spirits were inflamed with the heat of controversy,—that the points in debate between the two churches were not essential to true religion;—that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity were received and professed in both communions;—and that the difference of opinion between the contending parties, turned either upon points of an abstruse and incomprehensible nature, or upon matters of indifference, which neither tended to render mankind wiser nor better, and in which the interests of genuine piety were in no wise concerned. Those who viewed things in this point of light, were obliged to acknowledge, that the diversity of opinions between the two churches was by no means a sufficient reason for their separation; and that of consequence they were called, by the dictates of that gospel which they both professed, to live not only in the mutual exercise of Christian charity, but also to enter into the fraternal bonds of church-communion. The greatest part of the *reformed* doctors seemed disposed to acknowledge, that the errors of the Lutherans were not of a momentous nature, nor of a pernicious tendency; and that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity had not undergone any remarkable alteration in that communion; and thus on their side an important step was made towards peace and union between the two churches. But the greatest part of the Lutheran doctors declared, that they could not form a like judgment with respect to the doctrine of the Reformed churches; they maintained tenaciously the importance of the points which divided the two communions, and affirmed, that a con-

a considerable part of the controversy turned upon the fundamental principles of all religion and virtue. It is not at all surprising, that this steadiness and constancy of the Lutherans was branded by the opposite party with the epithets of morose obstinacy, supercilious arrogance, and such like odious denominations. The Lutherans were not behind-hand with their adversaries in acrimony of style; they recriminated with vehemence, and charged their accusers with instances of misconduct, different in kind, but equally condemnable. They reproached them with having dealt disingenuously, by disguising, under ambiguous expressions, the real doctrine of the Reformed churches; they observed farther, that their adversaries, notwithstanding their consummate prudence and circumspection, gave plain proofs, on many occasions, that their propensity to a reconciliation between the two churches arose from views of private interest, rather than from a zeal for the public good.

Declaration of the synod of Charenton.

IV. Among the public transactions relative to the project of a union between the Reformed and Lutheran churches, we must not omit mentioning the attempt made by James I. king of *Great Britain*, to accomplish this salutary purpose, in the year 1615. The person employed for this end by the British monarch, was Peter de Moulin, the most eminent among the Protestant doctors in *France* [e]; but this design was neither carried on with spirit, nor attended with success [f]. Another

[e] See La Vassor, *Hist. de Louis* XIII. tom. ii. p. ii. p. 21.

☞ [f] King James, who would have abandoned the most important and noble design, at any time, to discuss a point of grammar or theology, or to gain a point of interest for himself or his minions, neglected this union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, which he had begun to promote with such an appearance of piety and zeal.

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Another attempt of the same pacific nature was made in the year 1631, in the synod of *Charenton*, in which an act was passed by the Reformed doctors of that respectable assembly, declaring the Lutheran system of religion conformable with the spirit of true piety, and free from pernicious and fundamental errors. By this act, a fair opportunity was offered to the Lutherans of joining with the Reformed church upon honourable terms, and of entering into the bonds both of civil and religious communion with their Calvinistical brethren [*g*]. But this candid and charitable proceeding was attended with very little fruit, since few of the Lutherans were disposed to embrace the occasion that was here so freely offered them, of terminating the dissensions that separated the two churches. The same year a conference was held at *Leipsic* between the Saxon doctors, Koe, Lyser, and Hopfner, on the one side, and some of the most eminent divines of *Hesse-Cassel* and *Brandenburg*, on the other; to the end that, by exposing with fidelity and precision their respective doctrines, it might be more easily seen what the real obstacles were that stood in the way of the union projected between the two churches. This conference was conducted with decency and moderation, and the deliberations were neither disturbed by intemperate zeal, nor by a proud spirit of contention and dispute; but that openness of heart, that mutual trust and confidence, which are so essential to the success of all kinds of pacification, were wanting here. For though the doctors of the Reformed partly exposed, with the utmost precision and fairness, the tenets of their church, and made, moreover, many concessions, which the Lutherans themselves

[*g*] Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, tom. ii. p. 544.—Aymon, *Actes des Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformee, de France*, tom. ii. p. 500.—Ittigii *Dissert. de Synodi Carentoniensis indulgentia erga Lutheranos*, Lips. 1705. 4to.

themselves could scarcely expect; yet the latter, suspicious and fearful, and always apprehensive of schemes, formed by artifice under the mask of candour, to betray and ensnare them, did not dare to acknowledge, that they were satisfied with these explications and offers; and thus the conference broke up without having contributed in any respect to promote the salutary work of peace [*h*]. To form a true idea of these pacific deliberations, of the reasons that gave rise to them, and of the principles by which they were conducted, it will be necessary to study the civil history of this interesting period with attention and care.

The conferences at Thorn and Cassel.

V. Uladislaus IV. king of *Poland*, formed a still more extensive plan of religious union than those hitherto mentioned; he proposed a reconciliation, not only between the Reformed and Lutheran churches, but also between these two communions and that of *Rome*. For this purpose, he ordered a conference to be held at *Thorn*, in the year 1645, the issue of which, as might naturally have been expected, was far from being favourable to the projected union; for the persons employed by the three churches to heal their divisions, or at least to calm their animosities, returned from this conference with a greater measure of party zeal, and a smaller portion of Christian charity, than they had brought to it.

The conference held at *Cassel* in the year 1661, by the order of William VI. Landgrave of *Hesse*, between Musæus and Henichius, professors at *Rintelen*, on the side of the Lutherans, and

[*h*] Timanni Gasselii *Historia Sacra et Ecclesiastica*, p. ii. *in addendis*, p. 597—613. in which the acts of this conference are published. Jo. Wolfg. Jaegeri *Historia Sæculi* xvii. Decenn. iv. p. 497. ☞ This testimony of Dr. Mosheim, who was himself a Lutheran, is singularly honourable to the reformed doctors.

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Curtius and Heinsius, of the university of *Marpurg*, on that of the Reformed, was attended with much more success; and, if it did not bring about a perfect uniformity of opinion, it produced what was much better, a spirit of Christian charity and forbearance. For these candid doctors, after having diligently examined the nature, and weighed the importance, of the controversies that divided the two churches, embraced each other with reciprocal marks of affection and esteem, and mutually declared that their respective doctrines were less different from each other than was generally imagined; and that this difference was not of sufficient moment to prevent their fraternal union and concord. But it happened unluckily, that these moderate doctors of *Rintelen* could not infuse the same spirit of peace and charity that animated *them*, into their Lutheran brethren, nor persuade them to view the difference of opinion, that divided the Protestant churches, in the same indulgent point of light in which they had considered them in the conference at *Cassel*. On the contrary, this their moderation drew upon them the hatred of almost all the Lutherans; and they were loaded with bitter reproaches in a multitude of pamphlets [*i*], that were composed expressly to refute their sentiments, and to censure their conduct. The pains that were taken after this

[*i*] The writers who have given accounts of the conferences of Thorn and Cassel, are enumerated by Sagittarius, in his *Introd. ad. Hist. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 1604.—See also Jaegeri *Historia Sæculi* xvii. *Decenn.* v. p. 689. and *Decenn.* vii. p. 160. where the Acts of the conferences of Cassel and Thorn are extant.—Add to these, Jo. Alphons. Turretini *Nubes Testitum pro moderato in rebus Theologicis judicio*, p. 178.—There is an ample account of the conference of Cassel in the life of Musæus given by Mollerus in his Cimbria Literata, tom. ii. p. 566. The reader will find in the same work, an accurate Index of the accounts of this conference published on both sides.

this period by the princes of the house of *Brandenburg*, and more especially by Frederic William and his son Frederic, in order to compose the dissensions and animosity that divide the protestants, and particularly to promote a fraternal union between the Reformed and Lutheran churches in the Prussian territories, and in the rest of their dominions, are well known: and it is also equally notorious, that innumerable difficulties were formed against the execution of this salutary design.

The pacific exploits of John Dureus.

VI. Besides these public conferences, held by the authority of princes, in order to promote union and concord among Protestants, a multitude of individuals, animated by a spirit of true Christian charity, embarked in this pious cause on their own private authority, and offered their mediation and good offices to reconcile the two churches. It is true, indeed, that these peace-makers were, generally speaking, of the Reformed church; and that those among the Lutherans, who appeared in this amiable character, were but few, in comparison with the great number of Calvinists that favoured this benevolent but arduous design. The most eminent of the Calvinistical peace-makers was John Dureus, a native of *Scotland*, and a man justly celebrated on account of his universal benevolence, solid piety, and extensive learning; but, at the same time, more remarkable for genius and memory, than for nicety of discernment and accuracy of judgment, as might be evinced by several proofs and testimonies, were this the proper place for discussions of that nature. Be that as it will, never, perhaps, was there such an example of zeal and perseverance as that exhibited by Dureus, who, during the space of forty years [*k*], suffered vexations,

[*k*] From the year 1631 to 1674.

and underwent labours, which required the firmest resolution, and the most inexhaustible patience; wrote, exhorted, admonished, intreated, and disputed; in a word, tried every method that human wisdom could suggest, to put an end to the dissensions and animosities that reigned among the Protestant churches. For it was not merely by the persuasive eloquence of his pen, or by forming plans in the silence of the closet, that this worthy divine performed the task which his benevolence and zeal engaged him to undertake; his activity and industry were equal to his zeal; he travelled through all the countries in *Europe*, where the Protestant religion had obtained any footing; he formed connections with the doctors of both parties; he addressed himself to kings, princes, magistrates, and ministers; and by representing, in lively and striking colours, the utility and importance of the plan he had formed, hoped to engage them more or less in this good cause, or at least to derive some succour from their influence and protection. But here his views were considerably disappointed; for though his undertaking was generally applauded; and though he met with a favourable and civil reception from the greatest part of those to whom he addressed himself, yet he found very few who were seriously disposed to alleviate his labours, by lending him their assistance, and seconding his attempts by their influence and counsels. Nay, some, suspecting that the fervent and extraordinary zeal of Dureus arose from mysterious and sinister motives, and apprehending that he had secretly formed a design of drawing the Lutherans into a snare, attacked him in their writings with animosity and bitterness, and loaded him with the sharpest invectives and reproaches. So that this well-meaning man, neglected at length by those of his own communion, opposed and rejected by the followers

followers of Luther, involved in various perplexities and distress, exhausted by unsuccessful labour, and oppressed and dejected by injurious treatment, perceived, by a painful experience, that he had undertaken a task which was beyond the power of a private person, and spent the remainder of his days in repose and obscurity at *Cassel* [*l*].

It may not be improper to observe here, that Dureus, who, notwithstanding the uprightness of his intentions in general, was sometimes deficient in frankness and ingenuity, had annexed to his plan of reconciliation certain doctrines which, were they susceptible of proof, would serve as a foundation for the union, not only of the Lutherans and Calvinists, but also of all the different sects that bear the Christian name. For, among other things, he maintained, that the *Apostles'*

[*l*] See Coleri *Historia* Joh. Duræi, published in 4to at Wittemberg, in 1716, to which, however, many important additions might be made from public records, and also from documents, that have not as yet seen the light. Some records and documents, of the kind here referred to, have been published by Hasæus, in his *Bibleotheca Bremens. Theologico-Philologica*, tom. i. p. 911. and tom. iv. p. 683. A still greater number are given by Gesselius, in the *Addenda Irenica*, that are subjoined to his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, tom. ii. p. 614. The transactions of Duræus at *Marpurg*, are mentioned by Schenk, in his *Vita Professorum Theologiæ Marpurg*, p. 207.—His attempts in *Holstein* may be learned from the Letters of Lackman and Lossius, which are joined together in the same volume. His expliots in *Prussia* and *Poland* are recorded by Jablonsky, in his *Historia Consensus Sendomiriensis*, p. 127. and his labours in *Denmark*, the *Palatinate* and *Switzerland*, are mentioned respectively by Elswich, in his *Fasciculus Epistol. Theolog.* p. 147.—Seelen's *Delicæ Epistol.* p. 353. and in the *Museum Helvet.* tom. iii. iv. v.—See also Jaegeri *Historia Sæculi* xvii. *Decenn.* vii. p. 171.—Bohmius, *Englische Reformations Historie*, and more especially an account of Duræus, published under my direction at Helmstadt, in the year 1744, by Benzelius, and entitled, *Dissertatio de Johan. Duræo, maxime de actis ejus Sueccanis.* This dissertation contains a variety of anecdotes drawn from records not yet made public.

Creed was a complete body of divinity; the *Ten Commandments* a perfect system of morals; and the *Lord's Prayer* a comprehensive series of petitions for all the blessings contained in the divine promises. Now if this notion, that these sacred compositions contain all that is essential to faith, obedience, and devotion, had been universally entertained, or evidently demonstrated, it would not have been a chimerical project to aim at a reconciliation of all Christian churches upon this basis, and to render these compositions the foundation of their coalition and the bond of their union. But it would have been highly chimerical to expect, that the Christian sects would universally adopt this notion, or be pleased to see the doctrines of Christianity reduced to such general principles. It is further to be observed, with respect to Dureus, that he shewed a peculiar propensity towards the sentiments of the *Mystics* and *Quakers*, on account of their tendency to favour his conciliatory and pacific project. Like them he placed the essence of religion in the *ascent* of the soul to God, in calling forth the *hidden word*, in fanning the *divine spark* that resides in the recesses of the human mind, and, in consequence of this system, was intimately persuaded, that differences merely in theological opinions did not at all concern the essence of true piety.

Matthiæ and Calixtus.

VII. Those among the Lutherans that appeared the most zealous in this pacific cause, were John Matthiæ [*m*], bishop of *Strengnes* in *Sweden*, and George Calixtus, professor of divinity at *Helmstadt*, whom Dureus had animated with a portion

☞ [*m*] Matthiæ had been chaplain to Gustavus Adolphus, and was afterwards appointed, by that prince, preceptor to his daughter Christina, so famous in history, on account of the whimsical peculiarities of her character, her taste for learning, and her desertion of the Swedish throne and the Protestant religion.

portion of his charitable and indulgent spirit. The former was a man of capacity and merit, the latter was eminently distinguished among the doctors of this century, by his learning, genius, probity, and candour; but they both failed in the arduous undertaking in which they had engaged, and suffered considerably in their attempts to promote the cause of unity and concord. The *Olive-branches* [*n*] of Matthiæ, who entitled thus his pacific productions, were, by a royal edict, publicly condemned and suppressed in *Sweden;* and their author, in order to appease the fury of his enemies, was obliged to resign his bishopric, and pass the rest of his days in retirement [*o*]. The zeal of Calixtus, in calming the tumultuous and violent spirit of the contending parties, drew upon him the bitterest reproaches, and the warmest animosity and resentment from those who were more bent on maintaining their peculiar opinions, than in promoting that charity which is the end of the commandment; and while he was labouring to remove all sects and divisions, he appeared to many of his brethren in the light of a new sectary, who was founding the most pernicious of all sects, even that of the *Syncretists*, who were supposed to promote peace and concord at the expence of truth. We shall, before we finish this chapter, endeavour to give a more particular and circumstantial account of the sentiments and trials of this great man, to whose charge many other things were laid, besides the *crime* of endeavouring to unite the disciples of the same master in the amiable bonds of charity, concord, and mutual forbearance, and whose opinions and designs excited warm contests in the Lutheran church.

 VIII. The

[*n*] *Rami Olivæ Septentrionalis.*

[*o*] See Schefferi *Suecia Litterata* p. 123. and Joh. Molleri ad eam *Hypomnemata*, p. 317.—Arkenholtz, *Memoires de la Reine* Christine, tom. i. p. 320. 505. tom. ii. p. 63.

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The prosperous events that happened to the Lutheran church.

VIII. The external state of the Lutheran church at this period was attended with various circumstances of prosperity, among which we may reckon its standing firm against the assaults of *Rome*, whose artifice and violence were in vain employed to bring on its destruction. It is well known, that a very considerable number of Lutherans resided in those provinces where the public exercise of their religion was prohibited. It has more especially been shewn by the late memorable emigration of the *Saltzburgers* [*p*], that still greater numbers of them lay concealed in that land of despotism and bigotry, where the smallest dissent from popery, with whatever secresy and circumspection it may be disguised, is considered as an enormous and capital crime; and that they preserved their religious sentiments and doctrines pure and uncorrupted amidst the contagion of Romish superstition, which they always beheld with aversion and horror. In those countries which are inhabited by persons of different communions, and whose sovereigns are members of the Romish church, we have numberless instances of the cruelty and injustice practised by the papists against those that dissent from them; and these cruelties are exercised under a pretext suggested by the most malevolent bigotry, which represents these dissenters as seditious subjects, and consequently as worthy of the most rigorous treatment. And yet it is certain, that, amidst all these vexations, the Lutheran church has stood its ground; nor has either the craft or fury of its enemies

☞ [*p*] For an account of the persecuted Lutherans in the archbishopric of Saltzbourg, see *Burnet's Travels*. See more especially a famous Latin discourse, published at Tubingen, in the year 1732, under the following title: "Commentariolus Theologicus de non tolerandis in Religione Dissentientibus, quam Præside Christ. Matth. Pfaffio defendet Wolf. Lud. Letsching."

enemies been able, any where, to deprive it entirely of its rights and privileges. It may further be observed, that the doctrine of Luther was carried into *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, by several persons who fixed their habitations in those distant regions, and was also introduced into some parts of *Europe*, where it had hitherto been unknown.

The progress of learning among the Lutherans.

IX. When we turn our view to the internal state of the Lutheran church during this century, we shall find it improved in various respects; though several blemishes yet remained that clouded its lustre, it must be acknowledged, to the honour of the Lutherans, that they cultivated all the various branches of literature, both sacred and profane, with uncommon industry and success, and made several improvements in the sciences, which are too well known to stand in need of a particular mention; and of which a circumstantial enumeration would be inconsistent with the brevity we propose to observe in this history. But if it cannot be denied, on the one hand, that the cause of religion gained by these improvements in learning, it must be owned, on the other, that some branches of science were perverted by injudicious or ill-designing men, to corrupt the pure simplicity of genuine Christianity, and to render its doctrines abstruse and intricate. Thus it too often happens in life, that the best things are the most egregiously abused.

About the commencement of this century, the sciences chiefly cultivated in the schools were logic and metaphysics: though the manner of treating them was almost entirely destitute of elegance, simplicity, and precision. But, in process of time, the scene changed in the seminaries of learning; and the more entertaining and agreeable branches of literature, that polish wit, excite taste, exercise judgment, and enrich memory, such as civil and natural history, philology, antiquities, criticism,

cism, and eloquence, gained the ascendant. Both these kinds of knowledge acquired also a more graceful, consistent, and regular form than that under which they had hitherto appeared. But it happened most unluckily, that while the boundaries of science were extended from day to day, and new discoveries and improvements were constantly enriching the republic of letters, the credit of learning began sensibly to decrease, and learned men seemed gradually to lose those peculiar marks of veneration and distinction that the novelty of their character, as well as the excellence and importance of their labours, had hitherto drawn from the public. Among the various circumstances that contributed to this decline of literary glory, we may particularly reckon the multitude of those who, without natural capacity, taste, or inclination, were led, by authority or a desire of applause, to literary pursuits; and by their ignorance or their pedantry, cast a reproach upon the republic of letters.

The state of philosophy. The Aristotelians triumph.

X. The only kind of philosophy that was taught in the Lutheran schools, during the greatest part of this century, was that of Aristotle, dressed up in that scholastic form that increased its native intricacy and subtilty. And such was the devout and excessive veneration entertained by many for this abstruse system, that any attempt to reject the Grecian oracle, or to correct its decisions, was looked upon as of the most dangerous consequence to the interests of the church, and as equally criminal with a like attempt upon the sacred writings. Those who distinguished themselves in the most extraordinary manner by their zealous and invincible attachment to the Peripatetic philosophy, were the divines of *Leipsic*, *Tubingen*, *Helmstadt*, and *Altorf*. The enchantment, however, was not universal; and there were many who, withdrawing their private judgment from the yoke

yoke of authority, were bold enough to see with their own eyes; and of consequence discerned the blemishes that were indeed sufficiently visible in the pretended wisdom of the Grecian sage. The first attempt to reduce his authority within narrow bounds was made by certain pious and prudent divines, who though they did not pretend to discourage all philosophical enquiries, yet were desirous of confining them to a few select subjects; and complained, that the pompous denomination of philosophy was too frequently prostituted [*q*], by being applied to unintelligible distinctions, and words, or rather sounds, destitute of sense. These were succeeded in their dislike of the Peripatetic philosophy by the disciples of Ramus, who had credit enough to banish it from several seminaries of learning, and to substitute in its place the system of their master, which was of a more practical kind, and better adapted to the purposes of life [*r*]. But if the philosophy of Aristotle met with adversaries who opposed it upon solid and rational principles, it had also enemies of a very different character, who imprudently declaimed against philosophy in general, as highly detrimental to the cause of religion and the interests of society. Such was the fanatical extravgance of Daniel Hoffman, professor at *Helmstadt*, who discovered, in this controversy, an equal degree of ignorance and animosity; and such also were the followers of Robert Fludd, Jacob Behmen, and the Rosecrucians, who boasted of having struck out, by the assistance of *fire* and *divine illumination*, a new, wonderful,

[*q*] Such among others, was Wenseslas Schillingius, of whom a particular account is given by Arnold, in his *Histor. Eccles. et Hæret.* p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. vi.

[*r*] See Jo. Herman ab Elswick, *De varia Aristotelis fortuna*, sect. xxi. p. 54. and Walchius, *Historia Logicis*, lib. ii. cap. ii. sect. iii. v. in *Parergis* ejus *Academicis*, p. 613.

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derful, and celestial system of philosophy, of which mention has been already made [*s*]. These adversaries of the Stagirite were divided among themselves, and this diminished the strength and vigour of their opposition to the common enemy. But had they been ever so closely united in their sentiments and measures, they would not have been able to overturn the empire of Aristotle, which was deeply rooted in the schools through long possession, and had a powerful support in the multitude of its votaries and defenders.

The freedom of philosophical enquiry gains ground.

XI. The Peripatetic system had still more formidable adversaries to encounter in Des Cartes and Gassendi, whose writings were composed with that perspicuity and precision that rendered them singularly agreeable to many of the Lutheran doctors of this century, and made them look with contempt on that obsolete and barren philosophy of the schools, which was expressed in uncouth terms and barbarous phrases, without taste, elegance, or accuracy. The votaries of Aristotle beheld with envy these new philosophers, used their most zealous endeavours to bring them into discredit, and, for this purpose, represented their researches and principles as highly detrimental to the interests of religion and the growth of true piety. But when they found, by experience, that these methods of attack proved unsuccessful, they changed their method of proceeding, and (like a prudent general, who, besieged by a superior force, abandons his outworks and retires into the citadel) they relinquished much of their jargon, and defended only the main and essential principles of their system. To render these principles more palatable, they began to adorn them with the graces of elocution, and to mingle with their philosophical tenets the charms of polite literature.

[*s*] See above, in the *General History of the Church*, sect. 31.

terature. They even went so far as to confess, that Aristotle, though the prince of philosophers, was chargeable with errors and defects, which it was both lawful and expedient to correct. But these concessions only served to render their adversaries more confident and enterprising, since they were interpreted as resulting from a consciousness of their weakness, and were looked upon as a manifest acknowledgment of their defeat. In consequence of this, the enemies of the Stagirite renewed their attacks with redoubled impetuosity, and with a full assurance of victory; nor did they confine them to those branches of the Peripatetic philosophy which were allowed by its votaries to stand in need of correction, but levelled them, without distinction, at the whole system, and aimed at nothing less than its total dissolution. Grotius, indeed, who marched at the head of these philosophical reformers, proceeded with a certain degree of prudence and moderation. Puffendorff, in treating of the law of nature and of the duties of morality, threw off, with more boldness and freedom, the Peripatetic yoke, and pursued a method entirely different from that which had been hitherto observed in the schools. This freedom drew upon him a multitude of enemies, who loaded him with the bitterest reproaches; his example was nevertheless followed by Thomasius, professor of law in the academy of *Leipsic*, and afterwards at *Hall*, who attacked the Peripatetics with new degrees of vehemence and zeal. This eminent man, though honourably distinguished by the excellence of his genius and the strength of his resolution, was not, perhaps, the properest person that could be pitched upon to manage the interests of philosophy. His views, nevertheless, were vast; he aimed at the reformation of philosophy in general, and of the Peripatetic system in particular; and he assiduously

ously employed both the power of exhortation and the influence of example, in order to persuade the Saxons to reject the Aristotelian System, which he had never read, and which most certainly he did not understand. The scheme of philosophy, that he substituted in its place, was received with little applause, and soon sunk into oblivion; but his attempt to overturn the system of the Peripatetics, and to restore the freedom of philosophical enquiry, was attended with remarkable success, made, in a little time, the most rapid progress, and produced such admirable effects, that Thomasius is justly looked upon, to this day, as the chief of those bold spirits who pulled down philosophical tyranny from its throne in *Germany*, and gave a mortal blow to what was called the *Sectarian Philosophy* [*t*] in that country. The first seminary of learning that adopted the measures of Thomasius was that of *Hall* in *Saxony*, where he was professor; they were afterwards followed by the rest of the German schools, by some sooner, and by others later; and from thence a spirit of philosophical liberty began to spread itself unto other countries where the Lutheran religion was established. So that, towards the conclusion of this century, the Lutherans enjoyed a perfect liberty of conducting their philosophical researches in the manner they judged the most conformable with truth and reason, of departing from the mere dictates of authority in matters of science, and of proposing publicly every one his respective opinions. This liberty was not the consequence of any positive decree of the state, nor was it inculcated by any law of the church; it seemed to result

[*t*] By the *Sectarian Philosophers* were meant, those who followed implicitly some one of the ancient philosophical sects, without daring to use the dictates of their private judgment, to correct or modify the doctrines or expressions of these hoary guides.

result from that invisible disposal of things, which we call accident, and certainly proceeded from the efforts of a few great men, seconding and exciting that natural propensity towards free inquiry, that can never be totally extinguished in the human mind. Many employed this liberty in extracting, after the manner of the ancient *Eclectics*, what they thought most conformable to reason, and most susceptible of demonstration, from the productions of the different schools, and connecting these extracts in such a manner as to constitute a complete body of philosophy. But some made a yet more noble use of this inestimable privilege by employing, with indefatigable zeal and industry, their *own faculties* in the investigation of truth, and building upon solid and unchangeable principles a new and sublime system of philosophy. At the head of these we may place Leibnitz, whose genius and labours have deservedly rendered his name immortal.

In this conflict between the reformers of philosophy and the votaries of Aristotle, the latter lost ground from day to day, and his system, in consequence of the extremes that reformers often fall into, grew so disgusting and odious, that condemnation was passed on every part of it. Hence the science of *Metaphysics*, which the Grecian sage had considered as the master-science, as the original fountain of all true philosophy, was spoiled of its honours, and fell into contempt; nor was the authority and influence even of Des Cartes (who also set out, in his enquiries, upon metaphysical principles) sufficient to support it against the prejudices of the times. However, when the first heat of opposition began to cool, and the rage

[*u*] The curious reader will find an accurate and ample account of this revolution in philosophy, in the learned Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*.

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rage of party to subside, this degraded Science was not only recalled from its exile, by the interposition and credit of Leibnitz, but was also reinstated in its former dignity and lustre.

The virtues and defects of the Lutheran doctors.

XII. The defects and vices of the Lutheran clergy have been circumstantially exposed, and even exaggerated by many writers, who seem to require the ministers of the Gospel a degree of perfection, which ought indeed always to be aimed at, but which no wise observer of human nature can ever hope to see generally reduced to practice. These censures represent the leading men of the Lutheran church as arrogant, contentious, despotic, and uncharitable; as destitute of Christian simplicity and candour; fond of quibbling and dispute; judging of all things by the narrow spirit of party; and treating with the utmost antipathy and aversion those that differ from them ever so little in religious matters. The less considerable among the Lutheran doctors were charged with ignorance, with a neglect of the sacred duties of their station, and with a want of talent in their character as public teachers. And the whole body were accused of avarice, laziness, want of piety, and corruption of manners.

It will be acknowledged, without difficulty, by those who have studied with attention and impartiality the genius, manners, and history of this century, that the Lutheran clergy are not wholly irreproachable with respect to the matters that are here laid to their charge, and that many Lutheran churches were under the direction of pastors who were highly deficient, some in zeal, others in abilities, many in both, and consequently ill qualified for propagating the truths of Christianity with wisdom and success. But this reproach is not peculiarly applicable to the seventeenth century; it is a general charge, that, with too

too much truth, may be brought against all the ages of the church. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged, by all such as are not blinded by ignorance or partiality, that the whole of the Lutheran clergy did not consist of these unworthy pastors, and that many of the Lutheran doctors of this century were distinguished by their learning, piety, gravity and wisdom. Nay, perhaps it might be difficult to decide, whether in our times, in which some pretend that the sanctity of the primitive doctors is revived in several places, there be not as many that do little honour to the pastoral character as in the times of our ancestors? It must farther be observed, that many of the defects which are invidiously charged upon the doctors of this age, were in a great measure owing to the infelicity of the times. They were the unhappy effects of those public calamities which a dreadful war of thirty years duration, produced in *Germany;* they derived strength from the influence of a corrupt education, and were sometimes encouraged by the protection and countenance of vitious and profligate magistrates.

The vices of the Lutheran clergy partly owing to the times in which they lived.

XIII. That the vices of the Lutheran clergy were partly owing to the infelicity of the times, will appear evident from some particular instances. It must be acknowledged that, during the greatest part of this century, neither the discourses of the pulpit nor the instructions of the schools were adapted to promote among the people, just ideas of religion, or to give them a competent knowledge of the doctrines and precepts of the gospel. The eloquence of the pulpit, as some ludicrously and too justly represent it, was reduced, in many places, to the noisy art of bawling (during a certain space of time measured by a sand-glass) upon various points of theology, which the orators understood but very little, and which the people

did not understand at all; and when the important doctrines and precepts of Christianity were introduced in these public discourses, they were frequently disfigured by tawdry and puerile ornaments, wholly inconsistent with the spirit and genius of the divine wisdom that shines forth in the Gospel, and were thus, in a great measure, deprived of their native beauty, efficacy, and power. All this must be confessed; but perhaps it may not appear surprising, when all things are duly considered. The ministers of the Gospel had their heads full of sonorous and empty words, of trivial distinctions and metaphysical subtilties, and very ill furnished with that kind of knowledge that is adapted to touch the heart and to reform the life; they had also few models of true eloquence before their eyes; and therefore it is not much to be wondered, if they dressed out their discourses with foreign and tasteless ornaments.

The charge brought against the universities, that they spent more time in subtile and contentious controversy, than in explaining the holy Scriptures, teaching the duties of morality, and promoting a spirit of piety and virtue, though too just, yet may also be alleviated by considering the nature and circumstances of the times. The Lutherans were surrounded with a multitude of adversaries, who obliged them to be perpetually in a posture of defence; and the Roman Catholics, who threatened their destruction, contrubuted, in a more pariticular manner, to excite in their doctors that polemic spirit which unfortunately became a habit, and had an unhappy influence on the exercise both of their academical and pastoral functions. In time of war, the military art not only becomes singularly respectable, but is preferred, without hesitation, before all others, on account of its tendency to maintain the

the inestimable blessings of liberty and independence; and thus in the midst of theological commotions, the spirit of controversy, by becoming necessary, gains an ascendant, which, even when the danger is over, it is unwilling to lose. It were indeed ardently to be wished, that the Lutherans had treated with more mildness and charity those who differed from them in religious opinions, and had discovered more indulgence and forbearance towards such, more especially, as by ignorance, fanaticism, or excessive curiosity were led into error, without pretending, nevertheless, to disturb the public tranquility by propagating their particular systems. But they had unhappily imbibed a spirit of persecution in their early education; this was too much the spirit of the times, and it was even a leading maxim with our ancestors, that it was both lawful and expedient to use severity and force against those whom they looked upon as heretics. This maxim was derived from *Rome*, and even those who separated from that church did not find it easy to throw off, all of a sudden, that despotic and uncharitable spirit that had so long been the main-spring of its government, and the general characteristic of its members. Nay, in their narrow views of things, their very piety seemed to suppress the generous movements of fraternal love and forbearance; and the more they felt themselves animated with a zeal for the divine glory, the more difficult did they find it to renounce that ancient and favourite maxim, which hath so often been ill interpreted and ill applied, that *whoever is found to be an enemy to God, ought also to be declared an enemy to his country* [w]. XIV.

☞ [w] It were to be wished that the Lutherans had not, in many places, persevered in these severe and despotic principles, longer than other Protestant churches. Until this very day, the Lutherans of *Frankfort* on the *Maine* have always refused to permit the *Reformed*, to celebrate public worship

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The ecclesiastical laws and polity of the Lutherans.

XIV. There were few or no changes introduced, during this century, into the form of government, the method of worship, and the external rites and ceremonies of the Lutheran church. Many alterations would indeed have been made in all these, had the princes and states of that communion judged it expedient to put in execution the plans that had been laid by Thomasius, and other eminent men, for reforming its ecclesiastical polity. These plans were built upon a new principle, which supposed, that the majesty and supreme authority of the sovereign was the only source of church-power. On this fundamental principle, which these great men took all imaginable pains to prove, by solid and striking arguments, they raised a voluminous system of laws, which, in the judgment of many, evidently tended to this conclusion: that the same sovereign who presides in the state ought to rule in the church; that prince and pontiff are inseparable characters; and that the ministers of the Gospel are not the ambassadors of the Deity, but the deputies or vicegerents of the civil magistrate. These reformers of Lutheranism did not stop here; they reduced within narrower bounds the few privileges and advantages that the clergy yet retained; and treated many of the rites, institutions, and customs of our church, as the remains of popish superstition. Hence an abundant source of contention was opened, and a long and tedious controversy was carried on with warmth and animosity between the clergy and civilians. We leave others to determine with what views these debates were commenced and fomented, and with what success they were respectively carried on by the contending parties. We

within the bounds, or even in the suburbs of that city. Many attempts have been made to conquer their obstinacy in this respect, but hitherto without success.

We shall only observe, that their effects and consequences were unhappy, as in many places, they proved, in the issue, detrimental to the reputation of the clergy, to the dignity and authority of religion, and to the peace and prosperity of the Lutheran church [*x*]. The present state of that church verifies too plainly this observation. It is now its fate to see few entering into its public service, who are adapted to restore the reputation it has lost, or to maintain that which it yet retains. Those who are distinguished by illustrious birth, uncommon genius, and a liberal and ingenuous turn of mind, look upon the study of theology, which has so little external honours and advantages to recommend it, as below their ambition; and hence the number of wise, learned, and eminent ministers grows less considerable from day to day. This circumstance is deeply lamented by those among us who consider with attention the dangerous and declining state of the Lutheran church; and it is to be feared, that our descendants will have reason to lament it still more bitterly.

The most eminent Lutheran writers.

XV. The eminent writers that adorned the Lutheran church through the course of this century, were many in number. We shall only mention those whom it is most necessary for a student of ecclesiastical history to be more particularly acquainted with; such are Ægidius

☞ [*x*] It has been the ill-hap even of well-designing men to fall into pernicious extremes, in the controversies relating to the foundation, power, and privileges of the church. Too few have steered the middle way, and laid their plans with such equity and wisdom as to maintain the sovereignty and authority of the *State*, without reducing the *Church* to a mere creature of civil policy. The reader will find a most interesting view of this nice and important subject in the learned and ingenious bishop of *Gloucester's alliance between Church and State*, and in his *Dedication* of the second volume of his *Divine Legation of Moses*, to my Lord Mansfield.

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and Nicholas Hunnius—Leonard Hutter—Joseph and John Ernesti Gerhard—George and Frederick Ulric Calixtus—the Mentzers—the Olearius'—Frederic Baldwin—Albert Grawer—Matthias Hoe—the Carpzovius'—John and Paul Tarnovius—John Affelman—Elihart Luber—the Lysers—Michael Walther—Joachim Hildebrand—John Valentine Andreas—Solomon Glassius—Abraham Colovius—Theodore Hackspan—John Hulseman—Jacob Weller—Peter and John Mausaeus, brothers—John Conrad Danhaver—John George Dorschaeus—John Arndt—Martin Geyer—John Adam Schartzer—Balthazar and John Meisner—Augustus Pfeiffer—Henry and John Muller—Justus Christopher Schomer—Sebastian Schmidt—Christopher Horsbolt—the Osianders—Philip Jacob Spener—Geb. Theodore Meyer—Fridem. Bechman—and others [*y*].

An historical view of the religious doctrine of the Lutherans.

XVI. The doctrine of the Lutheran church remained entire during this century; its fundamental principles received no alteration, nor could any doctor of that church, who should have presumed to renounce or invalidate any of those theological points that are contained in the *symbolical books* of the Lutherans, have met with toleration and indulgence. It is, however, to be observed, that in latter times, various circumstances contributed to diminish, in many places, the authority of these *symbolical* oracles, which had so long been considered as an almost infallible rule of faith and practice. Hence arose that unbounded liberty, which is at this day enjoyed by all who are not invested with the character of public teachers, of dissenting from the decisions of these

[*y*] For an account of the lives and writings of these authors, see Witte's *Memoriæ Theologorum* and his *Diarium, Biographicum;* as also Pippingius, Goesius, and other writers of literary history.

these *symbols* or creeds, and of declaring this dissent in the manner they judge the most expedient. The case was very different in former times; whoever ventured to oppose any of the received doctrines of the church, or to spread new religious opinions among the people, was called before the higher powers to give an account of his conduct, and very rarely escaped without suffering in his fortune or reputation, unless he renounced his innovations. But the teachers of novel doctrines had nothing to apprehend, when, towards the conclusion of this century, the Lutheran churches adopted that leading maxim of the Arminians, that "Christians were accountable to God alone for their religious sentiments; and that no individual could be justly punished by the magistrate for his erroneous opinions, while he conducted himself like a virtuous and obedient subject, and made no attempts to disturb the peace and order of civil society." It were to be wished that this religious liberty, which the dictates of equity must approve, but of which the virtuous mind alone can make a wise and proper use, had never degenerated into that unbridled licentiousness that holds nothing sacred, but with an audacious insolence tramples under foot the solemn truths of religion, and is constantly endeavouring to throw contempt upon the respectable profession of its ministers.

XVII. The various branches of sacred erudition were cultivated with uninterrupted zeal and assiduity among the Lutherans who, at no period of time were without able commentators, and learned and faithful guides for the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. It is natural to mention here Tarnovius, Gerhard, Hackspan, Calixtus, Erasmus, Schmidt, to whom might be added a numerous list of learned and judicious ex-

positors of the sacred oracles. But what appears more peculiarly worthy of observation is, that the very period which some look upon as the most barren of learned productions, and the most remarkable for a general inattention to the branch of erudition now under consideration, produced that inestimable and immortal work of Solomon Glassius, which he published under the title of *Sacred Philology*, and than which none can be more useful for the interpretation of Scripture, as it throws an uncommon degree of light upon the language and phraseology of the inspired writers. It must, at the same time, be candidly acknowledged that a considerable part of this century was more employed, by the professors of the different universities, in defending, with subtilty and art the peculiar doctrines of the Lutheran church, than in illustrating and explaining the Holy Scripture, which is the only genuine source of divine truth. Whatever was worthy of censure in this manner of proceeding, was abundantly repaired by the more modern divines of the Lutheran communion; for no sooner did the rage of controversy begin to subside, than the greatest part of them turned their principal studies towards the exposition and illustration of the Sacred Writings; and they were particularly animated in the execution of this laborious task, by observing the indefatigable industry of those among the Dutch divines, who, in their interpretations of Scripture, followed the sentiments and method of Cocceius. At the head of these modern commentators we may place, with justice, Sebastian Schmidt, who was at least the most laborious and voluminous expositor of this age. After this learned writer, may be ranked Calovius, Gier, Schomer, and others of inferior note.

note [z]. The contests excited by the persons called *Pietists*, though unhappy in several respects, were nevertheless attended with this good effect, that they engaged many to apply themselves to the study of the Holy Scriptures, which they had too much neglected before that period, and to the perusal of the commentators and interpreters of the sacred oracles. These commentators pursued various methods, and were unequal both in their merit and success. Some confined themselves to the signification of the words of Scripture, and the literal sense that belonged to the phrases of the inspired writers; others applied their expositions of Scripture to the decision of controverted points, and attacked their adversaries, either by refuting their false interpretations of Scripture, or by making use of their own commentaries to overturn their doctrines; a third sort, after unfolding the sense of Scripture, applied it carefully to the purposes of life and the direction of practice. We might mention another class of interpreters, who, by an assiduous perusal of the writings of the Cocceians, are said to have injudiciously acquired their defects, as appears by their turning the sacred history into allegory, and seeking rather the more remote and mysterious sense of Scripture, than its obvious and literal signification.

The didactic theology; or, articles of faith adopted by the Lutherans.

XVIII. The principal doctors of this century followed, at first, the loose method of deducing their theological doctrine from Scripture under a few general heads. This method had been observed in ancient times by Melancthon, and was vulgarly called *Common-Place* divinity. They, however, made use of the principles, terms, and subtile distinctions of the Peripatetic philosophy, which

[z] See J. Franc. Budæi *Isagoge in Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 1686.

which was yet in high reputation, in explaining and illustrating each particular doctrine. The first person that reduced theology into a regular system, and gave it a truly scientific, and philosophical form, was George Calixtus, a man of great genius and erudition, who had imbibed the spirit of the Aristotelian school. His design, in general was not so much censured, as the particular method he followed, and the form he gave to his theological system; for he divided the whole science of divinity into three parts, *viz.* the *end*, the *subject*, the *means;* and this division, which was borrowed from Aristotle, appeared extremely improper to many. This philosophical method of ranging the truths of Christianity was followed, with remarkable zeal and emulation, by the most eminent doctors in the different schools of learning, and even in our times it has its votaries. Some indeed had the courage to depart from it, and to exhibit the doctrines of religion under a different, though still under a scientific form; but they had few followers, and struggled in vain against the empire of Aristotle, who reigned with a despotic authority in the schools.

There were, however, many pious and good men, who beheld, with great displeasure, this irruption of metaphysics into the sphere of theology, and never could be brought to relish this philosophical method of teaching the doctrines of Christianity. They earnestly desired to see divine truth freed from captious questions and subtilties, delivered from the shackles of an imperious system, and exhibited with that beautiful simplicity, perspicuity, and evidence, in which it appears in the sacred writings. Persons of this turn had their wishes and expectations in some measure answered, when, towards the conclusion of this century, the learned Spener, and others, animated by his exhortations and example, began to inculcate the truths

truths and precepts of religion in a more plain and popular manner, and when the electics had succeeded so far to dethrone Aristotle, and to banish his philosophy from the greatest part of the Lutheran schools. Spener was not so far successful as to render universal his popular method of teaching theology; it was nevertheless adopted by a considerable number of doctors; and it cannot be denied, that, since this period, the science of divinity, delivered from the jargon of the schools, has assumed a more liberal and graceful aspect. The same observation may be applied to controversial productions; it is certain that polemics were totally destitute of elegance and perspicuity so long as Aristotle reigned in the seminaries of learning, and that they were more or less embellished and improved since the suppression and disgrace of the Peripatetic philosophy. It is, however, to be lamented, that controversy did not lose, at this period, all the circumstances that had so justly rendered it displeasing; and that the defects, that had given such offence in the theological disputants of all parties, were far from being entirely removed. These defects still subsist, though perhaps in a less shocking degree; and whether we persue the polemic writers of ancient or modern times, we shall find too few among them who may be said to be animated by the pure love of truth, without any mixture of pride, passion, or partiality, and whom we may pronounce free from the illusions of prejudice and self-love.

The state of moral science among the Lutherans.

XIX. The science of morals, which must ever be esteemed the *master-science*, from its immediate influence upon life and manners, was, for a long time neglected among the Lutherans. If we except a few eminent men, such as Arndt and Gerhard, who composed some popular treatises concerning the internal worship of the Deity, and the

the duties of Christians, there did not appear, during the greatest part of this century, any moral writer of distinguished merit. Hence it happened, that those who applied themselves to the business of resolving what are called *Cases of Conscience*, were held in high esteem, and their tribunals were much frequented. But as the true principles and foundations of morality were not, as yet, established with a sufficient degree of precision and evidence, their decisions were often erroneous, and they were liable to fall into daily mistakes. Calixtus was the first who separated the objects of faith from the duties of morality, and exhibited the latter under the form of an independent science. He did not, indeed, live to finish this work, the beginning of which met with universal applause; his disciples, however, employed, with some degree of success, the instructions they had received from their master, in executing his plan, and composing a system of *Moral Theology*. This system, in process of time, fell into discredit on account of the Peripatetic form under which it appeared; for, notwithstanding the striking repugnance that there is, in the very nature of things, between the beautiful science of Morals, and the perplexing intricacies of Metaphysics, Calixtus could not abstain from the latter in building his Moral system. The moderns, however, stripped morality of the Peripatetic garment, calling to their assistance the law of nature, which had been explained and illustrated by Puffendorf and other authors, and comparing this law with the sacred writings, they not only discovered the true springs of Christian virtue, and entered into the true spirit and sense of the divine laws, but also digested the whole science of Morals into a better order, and demonstrated its principles with a new and superior degree of evidence.

XX. These

Commotions and contests in the Lutheran church.

XX. These improvements in theology and morality did not diffuse such a spirit of concord in the Lutheran church, as was sufficient to heal ancient divisions, or to prevent new ones. That church, on the contrary, was involved in the most lamentable commotions and tumults, during the whole course of this century, partly by the controversies that arose among its most eminent doctors, and partly by the intemperate zeal of violent reformers, the fanatical predictions of pretended prophets, and the rash measures of innovators, who studiously spread among the people, new, singular, and, for the most part, extravagant opinions. The controversies that divided the Lutheran doctors may be ranged under two classes, according to their different importance and extent, as some of them involved the whole church in tumult and discord, while others were less universal in their pernicious effects. Of the former class there were two controversies, that gave abundant exercise to the polemic talents of the Lutheran doctors, during the greatest part of this century; and these turned upon the religious systems that are generally known under the denominations of *Syncretism* and *Pietism*. Nothing could be more amiable than the principles that gave rise to the former, and nothing more respectable and praise-worthy than the design that was proposed by the latter. The *Syncretists* [*a*], animated with that fraternal love and that pacific spirit, which Jesus Christ had so often recommended as the peculiar characteristics of his true disciples, used their warmest endeavours to promote union and concord among Christians; and the *Pietists* had undoubtedly in view the restoration

[*a*] The Syncretists were also called Calixtines, from their chief, George Calixtus; and Helmstadians, from the university where their plan of doctrine and union took its rise.

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tion and advancement of that holiness and virtue, that had suffered so much by the influence of licentious manners on the one hand, and by the turbulent spirit of controversy on the other. These two great and amiable virtues, that gave rise to the projects and efforts of the two orders of persons now mentioned, were combated by a third, even a zeal for maintaining the truth, and preserving it from all mixture of error. Thus the love of truth was unhappily found to stand in opposition to the love of union, piety, and concord; and thus, in this present critical and corrupt state of human nature, the unruly and turbulent passions of men can, by an egregious abuse, draw the worst consequences from the best things, and render the most excellent principles and views productive of confusion, calamity, and discord.

The rise of the Syncretistical or Calixtine controversies.

XXI. The origin of *Syncretism* was owing to George Calixtus, of *Sleswick*, a man of eminent and distinguished abilities and merit, and who had few equals in this century, either in point of learning or genius. This great man being placed in a university [*b*], which, from the very time of its foundation, had been remarkable for encouraging freedom of enquiry, improved this happy privilege, examined the respective doctrines of the various sects that bear the Christian name, and found, in the notions commonly received among divines, some things defective and erroneous. He accordingly gave early intimations of his dissatisfaction with the state of theology, and lamented, in a more particular manner, the divisions and factions that reigned among the servants and disciples of the same great master. He therefore turned his views to the salutary work of softening the

[*b*] The university of Helmstadt, in the Dutchy of Brunswick, founded in the year 1576.

the animosities produced by these divisions, and shewed the warmest desire, not so much of establishing a perfect harmony and concord between the jarring sects, which no human power seemed capable of effecting, as of extinguishing the hatred, and appeasing the resentment, which the contending parties discovered too much in their conduct towards each other. His colleagues did not seem at all averse to this pacific project; and the surprise that this their silence or acquiescence must naturally excite, in such as are acquainted with the theological spirit of the seventeenth century, will be diminished, when it is considered, that the professors of divinity at *Helmstadt* bind themselves, at their admission, by an oath, to use their best and most zealous endeavours to heal the divisions, and terminate the contests that prevail among Christians. Neither Calixtus, however, nor his friends, escaped the opposition that it was natural to expect in the execution of such an unpopular and comprehensive project. They were warmly attacked, in the year 1639, by Statius Bucherus, a Hanoverian ecclesiastic, a bigoted votary of Ramus, a declared enemy to all philosophy, and a man of great temerity and imprudence. This man, exasperated at the preference Calixtus and his companions had given to the Peripatetic philosophy over the principles of the *Ramists*, composed a very malignant book entitled, *Crypto-Papismus novæ Theologicæ Helmstadiensis* [c], in which Calixtus was charged with a long list of errors. Though this production made some small impression on the minds of certain persons, it is nevertheless probable, that Buscher would have almost universally passed for a partial, malicious, and rash accuser, had his invectives and complaints rendered

[c] i. e. Popery disguised under the mask of the new theological system of Helmstadt.

rendered Calixtus more cautious and prudent. But the upright and generous heart of this eminent man, which disdained dissimulation to a degree that bordered upon the extreme of imprudence, excited him to speak with the utmost frankness his private sentiments, and thus to give a certain measure of plausibility to the accusations of his adversary. Both he and his colleague Conrad Horneius maintained, with boldness and perseverance, several propositions, which appeared to many others besides Buscher, new, singular, and of a dangerous tendency; and Calixtus more especially, by the freedom and plainness with which he declared and defended his sentiments, drew upon him the resentment and indignation of the Saxon doctors, who, in the year 1645, were present at the conference of *Thorn*. He had been chosen by Frederick William, elector of *Brandenburg*, as colleague and assistant to the divines he sent from *Koningsberg* to these conferences; the Saxon deputies were greatly incensed to see a Lutheran ecclesiastic in the character of an assistant to a deputation of Reformed doctors. The first cause of offence was followed by other incidents, in the course of these conferences, which increased the resentment of the Saxons against Calixtus, and made them accuse him of leaning to the side of the Reformed churches. We cannot enter here into a circumstantial account of this matter, which would lead us from our main design. We shall only observe, that when these conferences broke up, the Saxon doctors, and more especially Halseman, Weller, Scharfius, and Calovius, turned the whole force of their polemic weapons against Calixtus; and in their public writings, reproached him with apostasy from the principles of Lutheranism, and with a propensity towards the sentiments both of the Reformed and Romish churches. This great man

man did not receive tamely the insults of his adversaries. His consummate knowledge of the philosophy that reigned in the schools, and his perfect acquaintance with the history of the church, rendered him an able disputant; and accordingly he repelled with the greatest vigour, the attacks of his enemies, and carried on, with uncommon spirit and erudition, this important controversy, until the year 1656, when death put an end to his labours, and transported him from these scenes of dissension and tumult into the regions of peace and concord [*d*].

XXII. Neither the death of Calixtus, nor the disease of his principal adversaries, were sufficient to extinguish the flame they had kindled; on

The continuation and issue of these debates.

[*d*] Those who desire to be more minutely acquainted with the particular circumstances of this famous controversy, the titles and characters of the books published on that occasion, and the doctrines that produced such warm contests, and such deplorable divisions, will do well to consult Walchius, Carolus, Weisman, Arnold, and other writers; but above all, the third volume of the *Cimbria Literata* of Mollerus, p. 727. in which there is an ample account of the life, transactions, and writings of Calixtus. But, if any reader should push his curiosity still further, and be solicitous to know the more secret springs that acted in this whole affair, the remote causes of the events and transactions relating to it, the spirit, views, and characters of the disputants, the arguments used on both sides; in a word, those things that are principally interesting and worthy of attention in controversies of this kind, he will find no history that will satisfy him fully in these respects. A history that would throw a proper light upon these important matters, must be composed by a man of great candour and abilities; by one who knows the world, has studied human nature, is furnished with materials and documents that lie as yet concealed in the cabinets of the curious, and is not unacquainted with the spirit that reigns, and the cabals that are carried on in the courts of princes. But were such an historian to be found, I question very much, whether, even in our times, he could publish without danger all the circumstances of this memorable contest.

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on the contrary, the contest was carried on, after that period, with more animosity and violence than ever. The Saxon doctors, and more especially Calovius, insulted the ashes, and attacked the memory of this great man with unexampled bitterness and malignity; and, in the judgment of many eminent and worthy doctors, who were by no means the partizans of Calixtus, conducted themselves with such imprudence and temerity, as were every way adapted to produce an open schism in the Lutheran Church. They drew up a new kind of Creed, or confession of the Lutheran faith [*e*], which they proposed to place in the class of what the members of our communion call their *Symbolical books*, and which, of consequence, all professors of divinity and all candidates for the ministry would be obliged to subscribe, as containing the true and genuine doctrine of the Lutheran church. By this new production of intemperate zeal, the friends and followers of Calixtus were declared unworthy of the communion of that church: and were, accordingly, supposed to have forfeited all right to the privileges and tranquillity that were granted to the Lutherans by the laws of the empire. The reputation of Calixtus found, nevertheless, some able defenders, who pleaded his cause with modesty and candour; such were Titius, Heldebrand, and other ecclesiastics, who were distinguished from the multitude by their charity, moderation, and prudence. These good men shewed, with the utmost evidence, that the new Creed, mentioned above, would be a perpetual source of contention and discord, and would thus have a fatal effect upon the true interests of the Lutheran

[*e*] The title of this new creed was, *Consensus repetiti Fidei veræ Lutheranæ.*

Lutheran church: but their counsels were overruled, and their admonitions neglected. Among the writers who opposed this Creed, was Frederic Ulric Calixtus, who was not destitute of abilities, though much inferior to his father in learning, genius, and moderation. Of those that stood forth in its vindication and defence, the most considerable were Calovius and Strauchius. The polemic productions of these contending parties were multiplied from day to day, and yet remain as deplorable monuments of the intemperate zeal of the champions on both sides of the question. The invectives, reproaches, and calumnies, with which these productions were filled, shewed too plainly that many of these writers, instead of being animated with the love of truth, and a zeal for religion, were rather actuated by a keen spirit of party, and by the suggestions of vindictive pride and vanity. These contests were of long duration; they were, however, at length suspended towards the close of this century, by the death of those who had been the principal actors in this scene of theological discord, by the abolition of the creed that had produced it, by the rise of the new debates of a different nature, and by other circumstances of inferior moment, which is needless to mention.

The opinion of Calixtus.

XXIII. It will be proper to give here some account of the accusations that were brought against Calixtus by his adversaries. The principal charge was, his having formed a project, not of uniting into one ecclesiastical body, as some have understood it, the Romish, Lutheran, and Reformed churches, but of extinguishing the hatred and animosity that reigned among the members of these different communions, and joining them in the bonds of charity, mutual benevolence, and forbearance. This is the project, which was at first condemned, and is still known

under the denomination of Syncretism [*f*]. Several singular opinions were also laid to the charge of

[*f*] It is neither my design nor my inclination to adopt the cause of Calixtus; nor do I pretend to maintain that his writings and his doctrines are exempt from error. But the love of truth obliges me to observe, that it has been the ill hap of this eminent man to fall into the hands of bad interpreters; and that even those who imagine they have been more successful than others in investigating his true sentiments, have most grievously misunderstood them. Calixtus is commonly supposed to have formed the plan of a formal reconciliation of the Protestants with the church of Rome and its pontiffs; but this notion is entirely groundless, since he publicly and expressly declared, that the Protestants could by no means enter into the bonds of concord and communion with the Romish church, as it was constituted at this time; and that, if there had ever existed any prospect of healing the divisions that reigned between it and the Protestant churches, this prospect had entirely vanished since the council of Trent, whose violent proceedings and tyrannical decrees had rendered the union now under consideration absolutely impossible. He is further charged with having either approved or excused the greatest part of those errors and superstitions, that are looked upon as a dishonour to the church of Rome; but this charge is abundantly refuted, not only by the various treatises, in which he exposed the falsehood and absurdity of the doctrines and opinions of that church, but also by the declarations of the Roman Catholics themselves, who acknowledge that Calixtus attacked them with much more learning and ingenuity than had been discovered by any other Protestant writer*. It is true, he maintained that the Lutherans and Roman Catholics did not differ about the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith; and it were to be wished, that he had never asserted any such thing, or, at least, that he had expressed his meaning in more proper and inoffensive terms. It must however be considered, that he always looked upon the popes and their votaries, as having adulterated these fundamental doctrines with an impure mixture or addition of many opinions and tenets, which no wise and good Christian could adopt: and this consideration diminishes a good deal the extravagance of an assertion, which otherwise, would deserve the severest censure. We shall not enter

* Bossuet, in his Traite de la Communion sous les deux Especes. p. i. sect. ii. p. 12. speaks thus of the eminent man now under consideration: "Le fameux George Calixte, le plus habile des Lutheriens de notre tems, qui a ecrit le plus doctement contre nous," &c.

of this great man, and were exaggerated and blackened, as the most innocent things generally are, when they pass through the *medium* of malignity and party-spirit. Such were his notions concerning the *obscure manner* in which the doctrine of the Trinity was revealed under the Old Testament dispensation; the appearances of the Son of God during that period; the *necessity* of good works to the attainment of everlasting salvation; and God's being *occasionally* [*g*] the author of sin. These notions in the esteem of many of the best judges of theological matters, have been always looked upon as of an indifferent nature, as opinions which, even were they false, do not affect the great and fundamental doctrines of Christianity. But the two great principles that Calixtus laid down as the foundation and groundwork of all his reconciling and pacific plans, gave much more offence than the plans themselves, and

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enter further into a review of the imputations that were cast upon Calixtus, by persons more disposed to listen to his accusers, than to those who endeavour, with candour and impartiality, to represent his sentiments and his measures in their true point of view. But if it should be asked here, what this man's real design was? we answer, that he laid down the following maxims: First, "That if it were possible to bring back the church of Rome to the state in which it was during the first five centuries, the Protestants would be no longer justified in rejecting its communion: Secondly, That the modern members of the Romish church, though polluted with many intolerable errors, were not all equally criminal; and that such of them, more especially, as sincerely believed the doctrines they had learned from their parents or masters, and by ignorance, education, or the power of habit, were hindered from perceiving the truth, were not to be excluded from salvation, nor deemed heretics; provided they gave their assent to the doctrines contained in the Apostle's Creed, and endeavoured seriously to govern their lives by the precepts of the gospel." I do not pretend to defend these maxims, which seem, however, to have many patrons in our times; I would only observe, that the doctrine they contain is much less intolerable than that which was commonly imputed to Calixtus.

[*g*] Per accidens.

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drew upon him the indignation and resentment of many. Those principles were: First, That *the fundamental doctrines of Christianity* (by which he meant those elementary principles from whence all its truths flow) *were preserved pure and entire in all the three communions, and were contained in that ancient form of doctrine, that is vulgarly known by the name of the Apostle's Creed.* And, secondly, That *the tenets and opinions, which had been constantly received by the ancient doctors during the first five centuries, were to be considered as of equal truth and authority with the express declarations and doctrines of scripture.* The general plan of Calixtus was founded upon the *first* of these propositions; and he made use of the *second* to give some degree of plausibility to certain Romish doctrines and institutions, which have been always rejected by the Protestant church; and to establish a happy concord between the various Christian communions that had hitherto lived in the state of dissension and separation from each other.

Debates carried on with the doctors of Rintelen & Konings-berg,

XXIV. The divines of *Rintelen*, *Koningsberg*, and *Jena*, were more or less involved in these warm contests. Those of *Rintelen*, more especially Henichius and Musæus, had, on several occasions, and particularly at the conference of *Cassel*, shewn plainly that they approved of the plan of Calixtus for removing the unhappy discords and animosities that reigned among Christians, and that they beheld with peculiar satisfaction that part of it that had for its object union and concord among the Protestant churches. Hence they were opposed with great animosity by the Saxon doctors and their adherents, in various polemic productions [*h*].

The pacific spirit of Calixtus discovered itself also

[*h*] See Abrah. Calovii *Historia Syncrestica*, p. 618.—Jo. Georgii Walchii *Introductio in controversias Lutheran.* vol. i. p. 286.

also at *Koningsberg*. John Laterman, Michael Behmius, and the learned Christopher Dryer, who had been the disciples of that great man, were at little pains to conceal their attachment to the sentiments of their master. By this discovery they drew upon them the resentment of their colleagues John Behmius and Celestine Mislenta, who were seconded by the whole body of the clergy of *Koningsberg;* and thus a warm controversy arose, which was carried on, during many years, in such a manner as did very little honour to either of the contending parties. The interposition of the civil magistrate, together with the decease of Behmius and Mislenta, put an end to this intestine war, which was succeeded by a new contest of long duration between Dryer and his associates on the one side, and several foreign divines on the other, who considered the system of Calixtus as highly pernicious, and looked upon its defenders as the enemies of the church. This new controversy was managed on both sides, with as little equity and moderation as those which preceded it [*i*].

and those of Jena.

XXV. It must, at the same time, be acknowledged, to the immortal honour of the divines of *Jena*, that they discovered the most consummate prudence, and the most amiable moderation in the midst of these theological debates. For though they confessed ingeniously, that the sentiments of Calixtus were not of such a nature, as that they could be all adopted without exception, yet they maintained, that the greatest part of his tenets were much less pernicious than the Saxon doctors had represented them; and that several of them

[*i*] See Christopher Hartkonch's *Church History of Prussia* (written in German), book ii. ch. x. p. 602.—Molleri, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 150.—See also the Acts and Documents contained in the famous collection, entitled, *Unsculidge Nachrichten*, A. 1740, p. 144. A. 1742, p. 29. A. 1745, p. 91.

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were innocent, and might be freely admitted without any danger to the cause of truth. Solomon Glassius, an ecclesiastic, renowned for the mildness of his temper, and the equity of his proceedings, examined with the utmost candour and impartiality the opposite sentiments of the doctors that were engaged in this important controversy, and published the result of this examination, by the express order of Ernest, prince of *Saxe-Gotha*, surnamed the *Pious* [*k*]. Musæus, a man of superior learning and exquisite penetration and judgment, adopted so far the sentiments of Calixtus, as to maintain that *good works* might, in a certain sense, be considered as *necessary to salvation;* and that of the erroneous doctrines imputed to this eminent man, several were of little or no importance. It is very probable, that the followers of Calixtus would have willingly submitted this whole controversy to the arbitration of such candid and impartial judges. But this laudable moderation offended so highly the Saxon doctors, that they began to suspect the academy of *Jena* of several erroneous opinions, and marked out Musæus, in a particular manner, as a person who had, in many respects apostatised from the true and orthodox faith [*l*].

The rise of the controversy relating to Pietism.

XXVI. These debates were suppressed and succeeded by new commotions that arose in the church, and are commonly known under the denomination

[*k*] This piece, which was written in German, did not appear in public till after the death of Glassius, in the year 1662; a second edition of it was published in 8vo. at *Jena* some years ago. The piece exhibits a rare and shining instance of theological moderation; and is worthy of a serious and attentive perusal.

[*l*] For an account of the imputations cast upon the divines of *Jena*, and more especially on Musæus, see a judicious and solid work of the latter, entitled, *Der Jenischin Theologen Ausfuhrlicke Erklarung*, &c.—See also Jo. Georgii. Walchii *Introductio in Controversiæ Ecclesiæ Lutheranæ*, vol. i. p. 405.

nomination of the *Pietistical Controversy*. This controversy was owing to the zeal of a certain set of persons, who, no doubt, with pious and upright intentions, endeavoured to stem the torrent of vice and corruption, and to reform the licentious manners both of the clergy and the people. But, as the best things may be abused, so this reforming spirit inflamed persons that were but ill qualified to exert it with wisdom and success. Many, deluded by the suggestions of an irregular imagination, and an ill-formed understanding, or, guided by principles and views of a still more criminal nature, spread abroad new and singular opinions, false visions, unintelligible maxims, austere precepts, and imprudent clamours against the discipline of the church; all which excited the most dreadful tumults, and kindled the flames of contention and discord. The commencement of *Pietism* was indeed laudable and decent. It was set on foot by the pious and learned Spener, who, by the private societies he formed at *Francfort*, with a design to promote vital religion, rouzed the lukewarm from their indifference, and excited a spirit of vigour and resolution in those who had been satisfied to lament, in silence, the progress of impiety. The remarkable effect of these pious meetings was increased by a book published by this well-meaning man, under the title of *Pious Desires*, in which he exhibited a striking view of the disorders of the church, and proposed the remedies that were proper to heal them. Many persons of good and upright intentions were highly pleased both with the proceedings and writings of Spener, and indeed the greatest part of those, who had the cause of virtue and practical religion truly at heart, applauded the designs of this good man, though an apprehension of abuses retained numbers from encouraging them openly. These abuses actually happened. The remedies proposed

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posed by Spener to heal the disorders of the church fell into unskilful hands, were administered without sagacity or prudence, and thus, in many cases, proved to be worse than the disease itself. The religious meetings above mentioned (or the *Colleges of Piety*, as they were usually called by a phrase borrowed from the Dutch), tended in many places to kindle in the breasts of the multitude the flames of a blind and intemperate zeal, whose effects were impetuous and violent, instead of that pure and rational love of God, whose fruits are benign and peaceful. Hence complaints arose against these institutions of *Pietism*, as if, under a striking appearance of sanctity, they led the people into false notions of religion, and fomented, in those who were of a turbulent and violent character, the seeds and principles of mutiny and sedition.

The commotions at Leipsic.

XXVII. These first complaints would have been undoubtedly hushed, and the tumults they occasioned, would have subsided by degrees, had not the contests that arose at *Leipsic*, in the year 1689, added fuel to the flame. Certain pious and learned professors of Philosophy, and particularly Franckius, Schadius, and Paulus Antonius, the disciples of Spener, who at that time was ecclesiastical superintendent of the court of *Saxony*, began to consider with attention the defects that prevailed in the ordinary method of instructing the candidates for the ministry: and this review persuaded them of the necessity of using their best endeavours to supply what was wanting, and to correct what was amiss. For this purpose, they undertook to explain in their colleges, certain books of holy Scripture, in order to render these genuine sources of religious knowledge better understood, and to promote a spirit of practical piety and vital religion in the minds of their hearers. The novelty of this method drew

drew attention, and rendered it singularly pleasing to many; accordingly, these lectures were much frequented, and their effects were visible in the lives and conversations of several persons, whom they seemed to inspire with a deep sense of the importance of religion and virtue. Whether these first effusions of religious fervour, which were, in themselves, most certainly laudable, were always kept within the strict bounds of reason and discretion, is a question not easily decided. If we are to believe the report of common fame, and the testimonies of several persons of great weight, this was by no means the case; and many things were both said and done in these *Biblical Colleges* (as they were called) which though they might be looked upon, by equitable and candid judges, as worthy of toleration and indulgence, were, nevertheless, contrary to custom, and far from being consistent with prudence. Hence rumours were spread, tumults excited, animosities kindled, and the matter at length brought to a public trial, in which the pious and learned men above mentioned were, indeed, declared free from the errors and heresies that had been laid to their charge, but were, at the same time, prohibited from carrying on the plan of religious instruction they had undertaken with such zeal. It was during these troubles and divisions that the invidious denomination of *Pietists* was first invented; it may, at least, be affirmed, that it was not commonly known before this period. It was at first applied by some giddy and inconsiderate persons to those who frequented the *Biblical Colleges*, and lived in a manner suitable to the instructions and exhortations that were addressed to them in these seminaries of piety. It was afterwards made use of to characterize all those who were either distinguished by the excessive austerity of their manners, or who, regardless of *truth* and *opinion*, were only

only intent upon *practice*, and turned the whole vigour of their efforts towards the attainment of religious feelings and habits. But as it is the fate of all those denominations by which peculiar sects are distinguished, to be variously and often very improperly applied, so the title of *Pietists* was frequently given, in common conversation, to persons of eminent wisdom and sanctity, who were equally remarkable for their adherence to truth and their love of piety; and, not seldom, to persons whose motley characters exhibited an enormous mixture of profligacy and enthusiasm, and who deserved the title of delirious fanatics better than any other denomination.

The progress of these debates.

XXVIII. This contest was by no means confined to *Leipsic*, but diffused its contagion, with incredible celerity, through all the Lutheran churches, in the different states and kingdoms of *Europe*. For, from this time, in all the cities, towns, and villages, where Lutheranism was professed, there started up, all of a sudden, persons of various ranks and professions, of both sexes, learned and illiterate, who declared that they were called by a *divine impulse*, to pull up iniquity by the root, to restore to its primitive lustre, and propagate through the world, the declining cause of piety and virtue, to govern the church of Christ by wiser rules than those by which it was at present directed, and who, partly in their writings, and partly in their private and public discourses, pointed out the means and measures that were necessary to bring about this important revolution. All those, who were struck with this imaginary *impulse*, unanimously agreed, that nothing could have a more powerful tendency to propagate among the multitude solid knowledge, pious feelings, and holy habits, than those private meetings that had been first contrived by Spener, and that were afterwards introduced

duced into *Leipsic*. Several religious assemblies were accordingly formed in various places, which, though they differed in some circumstances, and were not all conducted and composed with equal wisdom, piety, and prudence, were, however, designed to promote the same general purpose. In the mean time, these unusual, irregular and tumultuous proceedings filled, with uneasy and alarming apprehensions, both those who were intrusted with the government of the church, and those who sat at the helm of the state. These apprehensions were justified by this important consideration, that the pious and well meaning persons who composed these assemblies, had indiscreetly admitted into their community a parcel of extravagant and hot-headed fanatics, who foretold the approaching destruction of *Babel* (by which they meant the Lutheran church), terrified the populace with fictitious visions, assumed the authority of prophets honoured with a divine commission, obscured the sublime truths of religion by a gloomy kind of jargon of their own invention, and revived doctrines that had long before been condemned by the church. These enthusiasts also asserted, that the *millennium*, or thousand years reign of the saints on earth, mentioned by St. John was near at hand. They endeavoured to overturn the wisest establishments, and to destroy the best institutions, and desired that the power of preaching and administering public instruction might be given promiscuously to all sort of persons. Thus was the Lutheran church torn asunder in the most deplorable manner, while the votaries of *Rome* stood by and beheld, with a secret satisfaction, these unhappy divisions. The most violent debates arose in all the Lutheran churches; and persons, whose differences were occasioned rather by mere words and questions of little consequence, than by any doctrines

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or institutions of considerable importance, attacked one another with the bitterest animosity; and in many countries, severe laws were at length enacted against the *Pietists* [*m*].

The debates carried on with Spener and the divines of Hall.

XXIX. These revivers of piety were of two kinds, who, by their different manner of proceeding, deserve to be placed in two distinct classes. One sect of these practical reformers proposed to carry on their plan without introducing any change into the doctrine, discipline, or form of government that were established in the Lutheran church. The other maintained, on the contrary, that it was impossible to promote the progress of real piety among the Lutherans, without making considerable alterations in their doctrine, and changing the whole form of their ecclesiastical discipline and polity. The former had at their head the learned and pious Spener, who, in the year, 1691 removed from *Dresden* to *Berlin*, and whose sentiments were adopted by the professors of the new academy at *Hall;* and particularly

[*m*] This whole matter is amply illustrated by the learned Jo. George Walchius, in his *Introductio ad Controversias*, vol. ii. and iii. who exhibits successively, the various scenes of this deplorable contest, with a view of the principal points that were controverted, and his judgment concerning each, and a particular account of the writers that displayed their talents on this occasion. It would, indeed, be difficult for any one man to give an ample and exact history of this contest, which was accompanied with so many incidental circumstances, and was, upon the whole, of such a tedious and complicated nature. It were therefore to be wished, that a society of prudent and impartial persons, furnished with a competent knowledge of human nature and political transactions, and also with proper materials, would set themselves to compose the history of Pietism. If several persons were employed in collecting from public records, and also from papers that lie yet concealed in the cabinets of the curious, the events which happened in each country where this controversy reigned: and if these materials, thus carefully gathered on the spot, were put in the hands of a man capable of digesting the whole; this would produce a most interesting and useful history.

ticularly by Franckius and Paulus Antonius, who had been invited thither from *Leipsic*, where they began to be suspected of *Pietism*. Though few pretended to treat either with indignation or contempt the intentions and purpose of these good men (which, indeed, none could despise without affecting to appear the enemy of practical religion and virtue), yet many eminent divines, and more especially the professors and pastors of *Wittemberg*, were of opinion, that, in the execution of this laudable purpose, several maxims were adopted, and certain measures employed, that were prejudicial to the truth, and also detrimental to the interests of the church. Hence they looked on themselves as obliged to proceed publicly, first against Spener, in the year 1695, and afterwards against his disciples and adherents, as the inventors and promoters of erroneous and dangerous opinions. These debates are of a recent date; so that those who are desirous of knowing more particularly how far the principles of equity, moderation, and candour influenced the conduct and directed the proceedings of the contending parties, may easily receive a satisfactory information.

The subject of these debates.

XXX. These debates turned upon a variety of points; and therefore the matter of them cannot be comprehended under any one general head. If we consider them indeed in relation to their origin, and the circumstances that gave rise to them, we shall then be able to reduce them to some fixed principles. It is well known, that those who had the advancement of piety most zealously at heart, were possessed of a notion, that no order of men contributed more to retard its progress than the clergy, whose peculiar vocation it was to inculcate and promote it. Looking upon this as the root of the evil, it was but natural that their plans of reformation should begin here; and, accordingly, they laid it down as an essential

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essential principle, that none should be admitted into the ministry, but such as had received a proper education, were distinguished by their wisdom and sanctity of manners, and had hearts filled with *divine love.* Hence they proposed in the *first place*, a thorough reformation of the schools of divinity; and they explained clearly enough what they meant by this reformation, which consisted in the following points: That the systematical theology, which reigned in the academies, and was composed of intricate and disputable doctrines, and obscure and unusual forms of expression, should be totally abolished;—that polemical divinity, which comprehended the controversies subsisting between Christians of different communions, should be less eagerly studied, and less frequently treated, though not entirely neglected;—that all mixture of philosophy and human learning with divine wisdom was to be most carefully avoided;—that, on the contrary, all those who were designed for the ministry, should be accustomed, from their early youth, to the perusal and study of the holy Scriptures;—that they should be taught a plain system of theology, drawn from these unerring sources of truth;—and that the whole course of their education was to be so directed, as to render them useful in life, by the practical power of their doctrine and the commanding influence of their example. As these maxims were propagated with the greatest industry and zeal, and were explained inadvertently by some, without those restrictions which prudence seemed to require; these professed patrons and revivers of piety were suspected of designs that could not but render them obnoxious to censure. They were supposed to despise philosophy and learning, to treat with indifference, and even to renounce, all inquiries into the nature and foundations of religious truth, to disapprove of the

the zeal and labours of those who defended it against such as either corrupted or opposed it, and to place the whole of their theology in certain vague and incoherent declamations concerning the duties of morality. Hence arose those famous disputes concerning the use of philosophy and the value of human learning, considered in connection with the interests of religion—the dignity and usefulness of systematic theology—the necessity of polemic divinity—the excellence of the mystic system—and also concerning the true method of instructing the people.

The *second* great object, that employed the zeal and attention of the persons now under consideration, was that the candidates for the ministry should not only, for the future, receive such an academical education as would tend rather to solid utility than to mere speculation; but also that they should dedicate themselves to God in a peculiar manner, and exhibit the most striking examples of piety and virtue. This maxim, which, when considered in itself, must be acknowledged to be highly laudable, not only gave occasion to several new regulations, designed to restrain the passions of the studious youth, to inspire them with pious sentiments, and to excite in them holy resolutions; but also produced another maxim, which was a lasting source of controversy and debate, *viz.* "that no person that was not himself a model of "piety and divine love was qualified to be a "public teacher of piety, or a guide to others in "the way of salvation." This opinion was considered by many as derogatory from the power and efficacy of the word of God, which cannot be deprived of its divine influence by the vices of its ministers; and as a sort of revival of the long exploded errors of the Donatists; and what rendered it peculiarly liable to an interpretation of this nature was, the imprudence of some Pietists,

who inculcated and explained it, without those restrictions that were necessary to render it unexceptionable. Hence arose endless and intricate debates concerning the following questions: "whether the religious knowledge acquired by a "wicked man can be termed theology?"—"whether a vicious person can, in effect, attain to "a true knowledge of religion?"—"how far the "office and ministry of an impious ecclesiastic can "be pronounced salutary and efficacious?"—"whether a licentious and ungodly man cannot "be susceptible of illumination?"—and other questions of a like nature.

XXXI. These revivers of declining piety went yet further. In order to render the ministry of their pastors as successful as possible, in rousing men from their indolence, and in stemming the torrent of corruption and immorality, they judged two things indispensably necessary. The *first* was, to suppress entirely, in the course of public instruction, and more especially in that delivered from the pulpit, certain maxims and phrases which the corruption of men leads them frequently to interpret in a manner favourable to the indulgence of their passions. Such, in the judgment of the *Pietists*, were the following propositions; "No man is able to attain to that perfection which the divine law requires—good works are not necessary to salvation—in the act of justification, on the part of man, faith alone is concerned, without good works." Many, however, were apprehensive, that, by the suppression of these propositions, truth itself must suffer deeply; and that the Christian religion, deprived thus of its peculiar doctrines, would be exposed, naked and defenceless, to the attacks of its adversaries. The *second* step they took, in order to give efficacy to their plans of reformation, was to form new rules of life and manners, much more rigorous and austere than

than those which had been formerly practised; and to place in the class of *sinful* and *unlawful* gratifications several kinds of pleasure and amusement, which had hitherto been looked upon as innocent in themselves, and which could only become good or evil, in consequence of the respective characters of those who used them with prudence, or abused them with intemperance. Thus, dancing, pantomimes, public sports, theatrical diversions, the reading of humorous and comical books, with several other kinds of pleasure and entertainment, were prohibited by the Pietists, as unlawful and unseemly; and, therefore, by no means of an indifferent nature. Many, however, thought this rule of moral discipline by far too rigid and severe; and thus was revived the ancient contest of the schoolmen, concerning the famous question, *whether any human actions are truly indifferent?* i. e. equally removed from moral good on the one hand, and from moral evil on the other; and *whether*, on the contrary, it be not true, that *all actions, whatever, must be either considered as good, or as evil?* The discussion of this question was attended with a variety of debates upon the several points of the prohibition now mentioned; and these debates were often carried on with animosity and bitterness, and very rarely with that precision, temper, and judgment that the nicety of the matters in dispute required. The *third* thing, on which the Pietists insisted, was, that besides the stated meetings for public worship, private assemblies should be held for prayer and other religious exercises. But many were of opinion, that the cause of true piety and virtue was rather endangered than promoted by these assemblies; and experience and observation seemed to confirm this opinion. It would be both endless and unnecessary to enumerate all the little disputes that arose from the appointment of

these private assemblies, and, in general, from the notions entertained, and the measures pursued by the *Pictists* [*n*]. It is nevertheless proper to observe, that the lenity and indulgence shewn by these people to persons whose opinions were erroneous, and whose errors were by no means, of an indifferent nature, irritated their adversaries to a very high degree, and made many suspect, that the *Pietists* laid a much greater stress upon practice than upon belief, and separating what ought ever to be inseparably joined together, held virtuous manners in higher esteem than religious truth. Amidst the prodigious numbers that appeared in these controversies, it was not at all surprising, if the variety of their characters, capacities, and views be duly considered, that some were chargeable with imprudence, others with intemperate zeal, and that many, to avoid what they looked upon as unlawful, fell injudiciously into the opposite extreme.

These restorers of vital religion endeavour to promote piety at the expense of truth.

XXXII. The other class of Pietists already mentioned, whose reforming views extended so far, as to change the system of doctrine and the form of ecclesiastical government that were established in the Lutheran church, comprehended persons of various characters and different ways of thinking. Some of them were totally destitute of reason and judgment; their errors were the reveries of a disordered brain; and they were rather to be considered as lunatics than as heretics. Others

[*n*] These debates were first collected, and also needlessly multiplied by Schelgvigius, in his *Synopsis Controversiarum sub pietatis prætextu motarum*, which was published in the year 1701, in 8vo. The reader will also find the arguments used by the contending parties in this dispute, judiciously summed up in two different works of Langius, the one entitled, *Antibarbarus;* and the other the *Middle-way;* the former composed in Latin, the latter in German.—See also the *Timotheus Verinus* of Val. Ern. Loscherus.

Others were less extravagant, and tempered the singular notions, they had derived from reading or meditation, with a certain mixture of the important truths and doctrines of religion. We shall mention but a few persons of this class, and those only who were distinguished from the rest by their superior merit and reputation.

Among these was Godfrey Arnold, a native of *Saxony*, a man of extensive reading, tolerable parts, and richly endowed with that natural and unaffected eloquence, which is so wonderfully adapted to touch and to persuade. This man disturbed the tranquillity of the church towards the conclusion of this century, by a variety of theological productions, that were full of new and singular opinions; and more especially by his ecclesiastical history, which he had the assurance to impose upon the public, as a work composed with candour and impartiality. His natural complexion was dark, melancholy, and austere; and, these seeds of fanaticism, were so expanded and nourished by the perusal of the mystic writers, that the flame of enthusiasm was kindled in his breast, and broke forth in his conduct and writings with peculiar vehemence. He looked upon the *Mystics* as superior to all other writers, nay, as the only depositaries of true wisdom; reduced the whole of religion to certain internal feelings and motions, of which it is difficult to form a just idea; neglected entirely the study of truth; and employed the whole power of his genius and eloquence in enumerating, deploring, and exaggerating, the vices and corruptions of human nature. If it is universally allowed to be the first and most essential obligation of an historian to avoid all appearance of partiality, and neither to be influenced by personal attachments nor by private resentment in the recital of facts, it must be fairly acknowledged, that no man could be less

fit for writing history than Arnold. His whole history, as every one must see who looks into it with the smallest degree of attention, is the production of a violent spirit, and is dictated by a vehement antipathy against the doctrines and institutions of the Lutheran church. One of the fundamental principles that influences the judgment, and directs the opinions and decisions of this historian, throughout the whole course of his work, is, that all the abuses and corruptions that have found admittance into the church since the time of the apostles, have been introduced by its ministers and rulers, men of vicious and abandoned characters. From this principle he draws the following goodly consequence; that all those who opposed the measures of the clergy, or felt their resentment, were persons of distinguished sanctity and virtue; and that such, on the contrary, as either favoured the ministers of the church or were favoured by them, were strangers to the spirit of true and genuine piety. Hence proceeded Arnold's unaccountable partiality in favour of almost all that bore the denomination of *Heretics* [o]; whom he defended with the utmost zeal, without having always understood their doctrine, and, in some cases, without having even examined their arguments. This partiality was highly detrimental to his reputation, and rendered his history peculiarly obnoxious to censure. He did not, however, continue in this way of thinking: but as he advanced in years and experience, perceived the errors into which he had been led by the impetuosity of his passion and the contagious influence of pernicious examples. This

☞ [o] Arnold's history is thus entitled, *Historia Ecclesiastica et Heretica.* Dr. Mosheim's account of this learned man is drawn up with much severity, and perhaps is not entirely destitute of partiality. See the life of Arnold in the General Dictionary.

This sense of his mistakes corrected the vehemence of his natural temper and the turbulence of his party spirit, so that, as we learn from witnesses worthy of credit, he became at last a lover of truth and a pattern of moderation [*p*].

Dippelius.

XXXIII. Arnold was far surpassed in fanatical malignity and insolence by John Conrad Dippelius, a Hessian divine, who assumed the denomination of the *Christian Democritus*, inflamed the minds of the simple by a variety of productions, and excited considerable tumults and commotions towards the conclusion of this century. This vain, supercilious, and arrogant doctor, who seemed formed by nature for a satyrist and a buffoon, instead of proposing any new system of religious doctrine and discipline, was solely employed in overturning those that were received in the Protestant church. His days were principally spent in throwing out sarcasms and invectives against all denominations of Christians; and the Lutherans, to whose communion he belonged, were more especially the objects of his raillery and derision, which, on many occasions, spared not those things that had formerly been looked upon as the most respectable and sacred. It is much to be doubted, whether he had formed any clear and distinct notions of the doctrines he taught; since in his views of things, the power of imagination domineered evidently over the dictates of right reason and common sense. But, if he really understood the religious maxims he was propagating, he had not certainly the talent of rendering them clear and perspicuous to others; for nothing can be more ambiguous and obscure than the expressions under which they are conveyed, and the arguments by which they are supported.

[*p*] See Coleri *Vita* Arnoldi—*Nouveau Diction. Histor. et Critique*, tom. i. p. 485.

A man must have the gift of divination, to be able to deduce a regular and consistent system of doctrine from the various productions of this incoherent and unintelligible writer, who was a chemist into the bargain, and whose brains seems to have been heated into a high degree of fermentation by the fire of the elaboratory. If the rude, motley, and sarcastical writings of this wrong-headed reformer should reach posterity, it will be certainly a just matter of surprise to our descendants, that a considerable number of their ancestors should have been so blind as to chuse for a model of genuine piety, and a teacher of religion, a man who had audaciously violated the first and most essential principles of solid piety and sound sense [*q*].

The inventions and reveries of Petersen.

XXXIV. The mild and gentle temper of John William Petersen, minister and first member of the ecclesiastical consistory at *Lunenburg*, distinguished him remarkably from the fiery enthusiast now mentioned. But the mildness of this good-natured ecclesiastic was accompanied with a want of resolution, that might be called weakness, and a certain floridness and warmth of imagination, that rendered him peculiarly susceptible of illusion himself, and every way proper to lead others innocently into error. Of this he gave a very remarkable specimen in the year 1691, by maintaining

[*q*] His works were all published, in the year 1747, in five volumes, in 4to; and his memory is still highly honoured and respected by many, who consider him as having been, in his day, an eminent teacher of true piety and wisdom. No kind of authors find such zealous readers and patrons as those who deal largely in invective, and swell themselves by a vain self-sufficiency, into an imagined superiority over the rest of mankind. Besides, Dippelius was an excellent chemist, and a good physician; and this procured him many friends and admirers, as all men are fond of riches, and long life, and these two sciences were supposed to lead to the one and to the other.

taining publicly that Rosamond Juliana, Countess of *Asseburg* (whose disordered brains suggested to her the most romantic and chimerical notions) was honoured with a vision of the Deity, and commissioned to make a new declaration of his will to mankind. He also revived and propagated openly the obsolete doctrine of the *Milennium*, which Rosamond had confirmed by her pretended authority from above. This first error produced many; for error is fertile, especially in those minds where imagination has spurned the yoke of reason, and considers all its airy visions as solid and important discoveries. Accordingly, Petersen went about prophesying with his wife [*r*], who also gave herself out for a kind of oracle, and boasted of her extensive knowledge of the secrets of heaven. They talked of a general *restitution* of all things, at which grand and solemn period all intelligent beings were to be restored to happiness, the gates of hell opened, and wicked men, together with evil spirits, delivered from the guilt, power, and punishment of sin. They supposed that two *distinct natures*, and both of them *human*, were united in Christ; one assumed in heaven before the Reformation of this globe, the other derived, upon earth, from the Virgin Mary. These opinions were swallowed down by many among the multitude, and were embraced by some of superior rank; they met, however, with great opposition, and were refuted by a considerable number of writers, to whom Petersen, who was amply furnished with leisure and eloquence, made voluminous replies. In the year 1692, he was at length deposed; and, from that period, passed his days in the tranquillity of a rural retreat in the territory of *Magdeburg*, where he cheered his solitude by epistolary

[*r*] Her name was Johanna Eleonora à Merlau.

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epistolary commerce, and spent the remainder of his days in composition and study [*s*].

Schade and Bosius.

XXXV. It is not easy to determine, whether John Casper Schade and George Bosius may be associated properly with the persons now mentioned. They were both good men, full of zeal for the happiness and salvation of their brethren, but their zeal was neither directed by prudence, nor tempered with moderation. The former, who was minister at *Berlin*, propagated several notions that seemed crude and uncouth; and, in the year 1697, inveighed with the greatest bitterness, against the custom that prevails in the Lutheran church of confessing privately to the clergy. These violent remonstrances excited great commotions, and were even attended with popular tumults. Bosius performed the pastoral functions at *Soraw;* and, to awaken sinners from their security, and prevent their treating, with negligence and indifference, interests that are most important by being eternal, denied that God would continue always propitious and placable with respect to those offenders, whose incorrigible obstinacy he had foreseen from all eternity; or that he would offer them beyond a certain period, marked in his decrees, those succours of grace that are necessary to salvation. This tenet, in the judgment of many grave divines, seemed highly injurious to the boundless mercy of God, and was accordingly refuted and condemned in several treatises; it found, nevertheless, an eminent patron and defender

[*s*] Petersen wrote his life in German, and it was first published in 8vo, in 1717. His wife added her life to it, by way of Supplement, in the year 1718. These pieces of biography will satisfy such as are desirous of a particular account of the character, manners, and talents of this extraordinary pair. For an account of the troubles they excited at Lunenberg, see Jo. Moleri, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 639. the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. 1748. p. 974. A. 1749. p. 30.—200. & passim.

fender in the learned Rechenbelg, professor of divinity at *Leipsic*, not to mention others of less note, who appeared in its behalf [*t*].

Contests concerning the omnipresence of Christ's flesh, between the doctors of Tubingen and Giessen.

XXXVI. Among the controversies of inferior note that divided the Lutheran church, we shall first mention those that broke out between the doctors of *Tubingen* and *Giessen* so early as the year 1616. The principal part of this debate related to the abasement and humiliation, or, to what divines call the *exinanition of Jesus Christ*; and the great point was to know in what this *exinanition* properly consisted, and what was the precise nature and characteristic of this singular situation: That the *Man Christ* possessed, even in the most dreadful periods of his abasement, the divine properties and attributes he had received in consequence of the *hypostatic union*, was unanimously agreed on by both of the contending parties; but they differed in their sentiments relating to this subtile and intricate question, *Whether Christ, during his mediatorial sufferings and sacerdotal state, really suspended the exertion of these attributes, or only concealed this exertion from the view of mortals?* The latter was maintained by the doctors of *Tubingen*, while those of *Giessen* were inclined to think, that the exertion of the divine attributes was *really* suspended in Christ during his humiliation and sufferings. This main question was followed by others, which were much more subtile than important, concerning the *manner* in which God is *present* with all his works, the reasons and foundations of this universal presence, the true cause of the omnipresence of Christ's body, and others of a like intricate and unintelligible nature. The champions that distinguished themselves on the side of the doctors of *Tubingen*

[*t*] See Walchius' *Introductio ad Controversias*, p. 1. cap. iv.

gen were, Lucas Osiander, Melchior Nicolas, and Theodore Thummius. The most eminent of those that adopted the cause of the divines of *Giessen* were, Balthazar, Menzer, and Justus Feverborn. The contest was carried on with zeal, learning, and sagacity; it were to be wished that one could add, that it was managed with wisdom, dignity, and moderation. This indeed, was far from being the case; but such was the spirit and genius of the age, that many things were now treated with indulgence, or beheld with approbation, which the wisdom and decency of succeeding times had justly endeavoured to discountenance and correct. In order to terminate these disagreeable contests, the Saxon divines were commanded, by their sovereign, to offer themselves as arbitrators between the contending parties in the year 1624; their arbitration was accepted, but it did not at all contribute to decide the matters in debate. Their decisions were vague and ambiguous, and were therefore adapted to satisfy none of the parties. They declared, that they could not entirely approve of the doctrine of either; but insinuated, at the same time, that a certain degree of preference was due to the opinions maintained by the doctors of *Giessen* [*u*]. Those of *Tubingen* rejected the decision of the Saxon arbitrators; and it is very probable, that the divines of *Giessen* would have appealed from it also, had not the public calamities, in which *Germany* began to be involved at this time, suspended this miserable contest, by imposing silence upon the disputants, and leaving them

[*u*] Jo. Wolf. Jæger. *Histor. Eccles. et Polit. Sæc.* xvii. *Decenn.* iii. p. 329.—Christ. Eberh. Weifmanni *Histor. Ecclesiast. Sæc.* xvii. p. 1178.—Walchius, *loc. cit.* p. 206.—See also Caroli Arnold, and the other writers, who have written the Ecclesiastical History of these times.

them in the quiet possession of their respective opinions.

The controversy occasioned by the writings of Pathmanus.

XXXVII. Before the cessation of the controversy now mentioned, a new one was occasioned, in the year 1621, by the writings of Herman Rathman, minister at *Dantzic*, a man of eminent piety, some learning, and a zealous patron and admirer of Arndt's famous book concerning *true Christianity*. This good man was suspected by his colleague Corvinus, and several others, of entertaining sentiments derogatory from the dignity and power of the sacred writings. These suspicions they derived from a book he published, in the year 1621, *Concerning Christ's Kingdom of Grace*, which, according to the representations of his adversaries, contained the following doctrine: "That the word of God, as it stands in the sacred writings, hath no *innate* power to illuminate "the mind, to excite in it a principle of regeneration, and thus to turn it to God: that the external "*word* sheweth, indeed, the way to salvation, but "cannot *effectually* lead men to it; but that God "himself, by the ministry of another, and an "*internal word*, works such a change in the minds "of men, as is necessary to render them agreeable "in his sight, and enables them to please him "by their words and actions." This doctrine was represented by Corvinus and his associates as the same which had been formerly held by Schwenchfeld, and was professed by the Mystics in general. But whoever will be at the pains to examine with attention the various writings of Rathman on this subject, must soon be convinced, that his adversaries either misunderstood his true sentiments, or wilfully misrepresented them. His real doctrine may be comprised in the four following points: "*First*, that the divine word, "contained in the Holy Scriptures, is endowed "with the power of healing the minds of men,

"and

" and bringing them to God; but that, *secondly*, " cannot exert this power in the minds of corrupt " men, who resist its divine operation and influ- " ence; and that of consequence, *thirdly*, it is ab- " solutely necessary, that the word be preceded or " accompanied by some divine energy which may " prepare the minds of sinners to receive it, and " remove those impediments that oppose its effi- " cacy; and, *fourthly*, that it is by the power of " the *holy spirit*, or *internal word*, that the ex- " ternal word is rendered capable of exerting its " efficacy in enlightening and sanctifying the " minds of men [*w*]." There is indeed, some difference between these opinions and the doctrine commonly received in the Lutheran church, relating to the efficacy of the divine word; but a careful perusal of the writings of Rathman on this subject, and a candid examination of his inaccurate expressions, will persuade the impartial reader, that this difference is neither great nor important; and he will only perceive, that this pious man had not the talent of expressing his notions with order, perspicuity, and precision. However that may have been, this contest grew more general from day to day, and, at length, extended its polemic influence through the whole Lutheran church, the greatest part of whose members followed the example of the Saxon doctors in condemning Rathman, while a considerable number, struck with the lustre of its piety, and persuaded of the innocence of his doctrine, espoused his cause. In the year 1628, when this controversy was at the greatest height, Rathman died, and then the warmth and animosity of the contending parties subsided gradually, and at length ceased.

XXXVIII.

[*w*] See Molleri's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 559.—Harknoch's German work, entitled, *Preussische Kirchen-Geschichte*, book iii. ch. viii. p. 812. Arnold's *Kirchen and Ketzer-Historie*, p. iii. ch. xvi. p. 115.

XXXVIII. It would be repugnant to the true end of history, as well as to all principles of candour and equity, to swell this enumeration of the controversies that divided the Lutheran church, with the private disputes of certain individuals concerning some particular points of doctrine and worship. Some writers have, indeed, followed this method, not so much with a design to enrich their histories with a multitude of facts, and to shew men and opinions in all their various aspects, as with a view to render the Lutherans ridiculous or odious. In the happiest times, and in the best modelled communities, there will always remain sufficient marks of human imperfection, and abundant sources of private contention, at least, in the imprudence and mistakes of some, and the impatience and severity of others; but it must betray a great want of sound judgment, as well as of candour and impartiality, to form a general estimate of the state and character of a whole church upon such particular instances of imperfection and error. Certain singular opinions and modes of expression were censured by many in the writings of Tarnovius and Affelman, two divines of *Rostoch*, who were otherwise men of distinguished merit. This, however, will surprise us less, when we consider, that these doctors often expressed themselves improperly, when their sentiments were just; and that, when their expressions were accurate and proper, they were frequently misunderstood by those who pretended to censure them. Joachim Lutkeman, a man whose reputation was considerable, and, in many respects, well deserved, took it into his head to deny that Christ remained *true man* during the three days that intervened between his death and resurrection. This sentiment appeared highly erroneous to many; hence arose a contest, which was merely a dispute

Private controversies.

dispute about words, resembling many other debates, which, like bubbles, are incessantly swelling and vanishing on the surface of human life. Of this kind, more especially, was the controversy which, for some time, exercised the talents of Boetius and Balduin, professors of divinity, the former at *Helmstadt*, and the latter at *Wittemberg*, and had for its subject the following question, *Whether or no the wicked shall one day be restored to life by the Merits of Christ?* In the dutchy of *Holstein*, Reinboth distinguished himself by the singularity of his opinions. After the example of Calixtus, he reduced the fundamental doctrines of religion within narrower bounds than are usually prescribed to them; he also considered the opinion of those Greeks, who deny that the *Holy Ghost* proceeds from the *Son*, as an error of very little consequence. In both these respects, his sentiments were adopted by many; they, however, met with opposition from several quarters, and were censured with peculiar warmth, by the learned John Conrad Danhaver, professor of divinity at *Strasburg;* in consequence of this, a kind of controversy was kindled between these two eminent men, and was carried on with more vehemence than the nature and importance of the matters in debate could well justify [*x*]. But these and other contests of this nature, must not be admitted into that list of controversies, from which we are to form a judgment of the internal state of the Lutheran church during this century.

XXXIX.

[*x*] For an account of all these controversies in general, see Arnold, *Histoire Eccles. et Hæret.* p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. vi. p. 957. That which was occasioned by Reinboth is amply and circumstantially related by Mollerus, in his *Introductio ad Historiam Chersonesi Cimbricæ*, p. ii. p. 190, and in his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 692.

The debates relating to Prætorius and Arndt.

XXXIX. We cannot say the same thing of certain controversies, which were of a personal rather than a real nature, and related to the orthodoxy or unsoundness of certain men, rather than to the truth or falsehood of certain opinions; for these are somewhat more essentially connected with the internal state and history of the church, than the contests last mentioned. It is not unusual for those who professedly embark in the cause of declining piety, and aim, in a solemn, zealous, and public manner, at its revival and restoration, to be elated with high and towering views, and warm with a certain enthusiastic, though noble fervour. This elevation and ardour of mind is by no means a source of accuracy and precision; on the contrary, it produces many unguarded expressions, and prevents men of warm piety from forming their language by those rules which are necessary to render it clear, accurate, and proper; it frequently dictates expressions and phrases that are pompous and emphatic, but, at the same time, allegorical and ambiguous; and leads pious and even sensible men to adopt uncouth and vulgar forms of speech, employed by writers whose style is as low and barbarous as their intentions are upright and pious, and whose practical treatises on religion and morality have nothing recommendable but the zeal and fervour with which they are penned. Persons of this warm and enthusiastical turn fall with more facility than any other set of men into the suspicion of heresy, on account of the inaccuracy of their expressions. This many doctors found to be true, by a disagreeable experience, during the course of this century; but it was, in a more particular manner, the fate of Stephen Prætorius, minister of *Solzwedel*, and of John Arndt, whose piety and virtue have rendered his memory precious to the friends of true religion. Prætorius

torius had, so early as the preceding century, composed certain treatises, designed to revive a spirit of vital religion, and awaken in the minds of men a zeal for their future and eternal interests. These productions, which were frequently republished during this century, were highly applauded by many, while, in the judgment of others, they abounded with expressions and sentiments, that were partly false, and partly adapted by their ambiguity to lead men into error. It cannot be denied, that there are in the writings of Prætorius some improper and unguarded expressions, that may too easily deceive the ignorant and unwary, as also several marks of that credulity that borders upon weakness; but those who peruse his works with impartiality will be fully persuaded of the uprightness of his intentions.

The unfeigned piety and integrity of Arndt could not secure him from censure. His famous book concerning *true Christianity*, which is still perused with the utmost pleasure and edification by many persons eminent for the sanctity of their lives and manners, met with a warm and obstinate opposition. Osiander, Rostius, and other doctors, inveighed against it with excessive bitterness, pretended to find in it various defects, and alleged, among other things, that its style was infected with the jargon of the *Paracelsists*, *Weigelians*, and other *Mystico-chemical* philosophers. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that this eminent man, entertained a high disgust against the philosophy that, in his time, reigned in the schools, nor can it be denied, that he had a high, perhaps an excessive degree of respect for the chemists, and an ill-placed confidence in their obscure decisions and pompous undertakings.—This led him sometimes into conversation with those fantastic philosophers, who, by the

the power and ministry of *fire*, pretended to unfold both the secrets of nature and the mysteries of religion. But, notwithstanding this, he was declared exempt from any errors of moment by a multitude of grave and pious divines, among whom were Egard, Dilger, Breler, Gerhard, and Dorchæus; and in the issue the censures and opposition of his adversaries seemed rather to cast a new lustre on his reputation than to cover him with reproach [*y*].

We may place in the class, now under consideration, Valentine Weigelius, a minister of the church of *Zscopavia* in *Misnia;* for though he died in the preceding century, yet it was in this that the greatest part of his writings were published, and also censured as erroneous and of a dangerous tendency. The science of chemistry, which at this time was making such a rapid progress in *Germany*, proved also detrimental to this ecclesiastic; who, though in the main a man of probity and merit, neglected the paths of right reason, and chose rather to wander in the devious wilds of a chimerical philosophy [*z*].

XL. There were a set of fanatics among the Lutherans, who in the flights of their enthusiasm far surpassed those now mentioned, and who had such a high notion of their own abilities as to attempt melting down the present form of religion, and casting a new system of piety after a model drawn from their wanton and irregular fancies; it is with some account of the principal of these spiritual projectors that we shall conclude the

Jacob Behmius or Boemen.

[*y*] See Arnoldi *Hist. Eccles. et Hæretica*, p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. vi. p. 940.—Weismanni *Histor. Eccles. Sæc.* xvii. p. 1174. 1189.—Godof. Balth. Scharfii *Supplementum Historiæ Litisque Arndtianæ. Wittem.* 1727, in 8vo.

[*z*] There is an account of Weigelius, more ample than impartial, given by Arnold. *loc. cit.* lib. xvii. cap. xvii. p. 1088.

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history of the Lutheran church during this century.

At the head of this visionary tribe we may place Jacob Behmen, a taylor at *Gorlitz*, who was remarkable for the multitude of his patrons and adversaries, and whom his admirers commonly called the *German Theosophist*. This man had a natural propensity towards the investigation of mysteries, and was fond of abstruse and intricate inquiries of every kind; and having, partly by books and partly by conversation with certain physicians [*a*], acquired some knowledge of the doctrine of Robert Fludd and the *Rosicrucians*, which was propagated in *Germany* with great ostentation during this century, he struck out of the element of *fire*, by the succours of imagination, a species of theology much more obscure than the numbers of Pythagoras, or the intricacies of Heraclitus. Some have bestowed high praises on this enthusiast, on account of his piety, integrity, and sincere love of truth and virtue; and we shall not pretend to contradict these encomiums. But such as carry their admiration of his doctrine so far as to honour him with the character of an *inspired messenger of heaven*, or even of a judicious and wise philosopher, must be themselves deceived and blinded in a very high degree; for never did there reign such obscurity and confusion in the writings of any mortal, as in the miserable productions of Jacob Behmen, which exhibit a motley mixture of chemical terms, crude visions, and mystic jargon. Among other dreams of a disturbed and eccentric fancy, he entertained the following chimerical notion: "That the "divine grace operates by the same rules, and "follows the same methods, that the divine pro- "vidence observes in the natural world; and "that

[*a*] *viz.* Tobias Kober and Balthazar Walther.

"that the minds of men are purged from their "vices and corruptions in the same way that "metals are purified from their dross;" and this maxim was the principle of his fire theology. Behmen had a considerable number of followers, in this century, the most eminent of whom were John Lewis, Giftheil, John Angelus, Wardenhagen, Abraham Frankenberg, Theodore Tzetch, Paul Felgenhaver, Quirinus, Kuhlman, John Jacob Zimmerman; and he has still many votaries and admirers even in our times. There was, indeed, a signal difference between his followers; some of them retained, notwithstanding their attachment to his extravagant system, a certain degree of moderation and good sense; others of them seemed entirely out of their wits, and by their frenzy excited the compassion of those who were the spectators of their conduct; such were Kuhlman and Gichtelius, the former of whom was burnt at *Moscow* in the year 1684; but indeed, it may be affirmed in general, that none of the disciples or followers of Behmen, propagated his doctrine, or conducted themselves, in such a manner as to do honour either to their master or to his cause in the judgment of the wise [*b*].

XLI. Another

[*b*] It is needless to mention the writers who employed their pens in stemming the torrent of Behmen's enthusiasm. The works of this fanatic are in every body's hands, and the books that were composed to refute them are well known, and to be found every where. All that has been alleged in his favour and defence has been carefully collected by Arnold, who is, generally speaking, peculiarly eloquent in the praises of those whom others treat with contempt. For an account of Kuhlman, and his unhappy fate, see the German work, entitled *Unschuld. Nachricht.* A. 1748.

☞ Behmen, however, had the good fortune to meet with, in our days, a warm advocate and an industrious disciple in the late well-meaning but gloomy and visionary, Mr. William

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The prophets of this age.

XLI. Another class of persons, who deserve to be placed immediately after Behmen, were they, whom a disordered brain persuaded that they were prophets sent from above, and that they were divinely inspired with the power of foretelling future events. A considerable number of these delirious fanatics arose during the course of this century; and more especially at that juncture when the house of *Austria* was employed in maintaining its power, in the empire, against the united armies of *Sweden*, *France*, and *Germany*. It is remarkable enough, that the tribe of pretended prophets and diviners is never more numerous than at those critical and striking periods when great revolutions are expected, or sudden and heavy calamities have happened; as such periods, and the scenes they exhibit, inflame the imagination of the fanatic, and may be turned to the profit of the impostor. The most eminent of the fanatical prophets now under consideration, were Nicholas Drabicius, Christopher Kotter, Christina Poniatovia, who found an eloquent defender and patron in John Amos Comenie; not to mention Joachim Greulich, Anne Vetter, Mary Froelich, George Reichard, and several others, who audaciously assumed the same character. It is not necessary to enter into a more circumstantial detail of the history of this visionary tribe, since none of them arose to such a degree of reputation and consequence, as to occasion any considerable tumults by their predictions. It is sufficient to have observed in general, that even in this century, there were among the Lutherans certain crazy fanatics, who, under the impulse

Law, who was, for many years, preparing a new edition and translation of Behmen's works, which he left behind him, ready for the press, and which have been published in two volumes 4to, since his decease. N.

impulse of a disordered imagination, assumed the character and authority of prophets sent from above to enlighten the world [*c*].

Ezekiel Meth, Isaiah Stiefel, Paul Nagel.

XLII. It will not, however, be improper to mention, somewhat more circumstantially, the case of those, who, though they did not arrive at that enormous height of folly that leads men to pretend to divine inspiration, yet deceived themselves and deluded others, by entertaining and propagating the strangest fancies, and the most monstrous and impious absurdities. Some time after the commencement of this century, Isaiah Stiefel and Ezekiel Meth, inhabitants of *Thuringia*, were observed to throw out the most extraordinary and shocking expressions, while they spoke of themselves and their religious attainments. These expressions, in the judgment of many, amounted to nothing less than attributing to themselves, the divine glory and majesty, and thus implied a blasphemous, or rather a frenetic, insult on the Supreme Being and his eternal Son. It is nevertheless scarcely credible, however irrational we may suppose them to have been, that these fanatics should have carried their perverse and absurd fancies to such an amazing height; and it would perhaps be more agreeable both to truth and charity to suppose, that they had imi-

 tated

[*c*] Arnold is to be commended for giving us an accurate collection of the transactions and visions of these enthusiasts, in the third and fourth parts of his History of Heretics; since those who are desirous of full information in this matter may easily see, by consulting this historian, that the pretended revelations of these prophets were no more than the phantoms of a disordered imagination. A certain pious but ignorant man, named Benedict Bahnsen, who was a native of Holstein, and lived at Amsterdam about the middle of the last century, was so delighted with the writings and predictions of these fanatics, that he collected them carefully, and published them. In the year 1670, a catalogue of his library was printed at Amsterdam, which was full of chemical and fanatical books.

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tated the pompous and turgid language of the mystic writers in such an extravagant manner, as to give occasion to the heavy accusation above mentioned. Considering the matter even in this candid and charitable light, we may see by their examples how much the constant perusal of the writings of the Mystics is adapted to shed darkness, delusion, and folly into the imagination of weak and ignorant men [*d*]. The reveries of Paul Nagel, professor of divinity at *Leipsic*, were highly absurd, but of a much less pernicious tendency than these already mentioned. This prophetic dreamer, who had received a light tincture of mathematical knowledge, pretended to see, in the position of the stars, the events that were to happen in church and state; and, from a view of these celestial bodies, foretold, in a more particular manner, the erection of a new and most holy kingdom in which Christ should reign here upon earth [*e*].

Christian Hoburg, Frederick Breckling, Seidenbecher.

XLIII. Christian Hoburg, a native of *Lunenberg*, a man of a turbulent and inconstant spirit, and not more remarkable for his violence than for his duplicity, threw out the most bitter reproaches and invectives against the whole Lutheran church without exception [*f*], and thereby involved himself in various perplexities. He deceived, indeed, the multitude a long time, by his dissimulation and hypocrisy; and by a series of frauds, which he undoubtedly looked upon as lawful, he disguised so well his true character that he

[*d*] See Arnold, *Histoire Eccles. et Hæret.* p. iii. cap. iv. p. 32.—Thomasius, in his German work entitled, *Histoire de Weisheitand Narrheit*, vol. i. p. iii. p. 150.

[*e*] Arnold, *loc. cit.* p. iii. cap. v. p. 53.—Andr. Caroli *Memorabilia Ecclesiæ Sæc.* xvii. pars i. lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 513.

[*f*] Hoburg, in some of his petulant and satirical writings, assumed the names of Elias Prætorius and Bernard Baumann.

he appeared to many, and especially to persons of a candid and charitable turn, much less contemptible than he was in reality; and though the acrimony and violence of his proceedings were condemned, yet they were supposed to be directed, not against religion itself, but against the licentiousness and vices of its professors, and particularly of its ministers. At length, however, the mask fell from the face of this hypocrite, who became an object of general indignation and contempt, and, deserting the communion of the Lutheran church, went over to the Mennonites [*g*]. There was a striking resemblance between this petulant railer and Frederick Breckling; the latter, however, surpassed even the former in impetuosity and malignity. Breckling had been pastor first in the dutchy of *Holstein*, and afterwards at *Swoll*, a city in the United Provinces, where he was deposed from his ministry, and lived a great many years after without being attached to any religious sect or community. There are several of his writings still extant, which, indeed, recommend warmly the practice of piety and virtue, and seem to express the most implacable abhorrence of vicious persons and licentious manners; and yet, at the same time, they demonstrate plainly that their author was destitute of that charity, prudence, meekness, patience, and love of truth, which are essential and fundamental virtues of a real Christian [*h*]. It is undoubtedly

[*g*] Arnold, *loc. cit.* p. iii. cap. xiii. p. 130.—Andr. Caroli, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 1065.—Jo. Hornbeck, *Summa Controvers.* p. 535.—Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 337.

[*h*] Arnold has given an account of Breckling, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica et Hæret.* pars iii. p. 148. and pars iv. p. 1103. he has also published some of his writings (p. 1110), which sufficiently demonstrate the irregularity and exuberance of his fancy. There is a particular account of this degraded pastor given by Mollerus, in his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 78.

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doubtedly a just matter of surprise, that these vehement declaimers against the established religion and its ministers, who pretend to be so much more sagacious and sharp-sighted than their brethren, do not perceive a truth, which the most simple may learn from daily observation; even that nothing is more odious and disgusting than an angry, petulant, and violent reformer, who comes to heal the disorders of a community, armed as it were, with fire and sword, with menaces and terrors. It is also to be wondered, that these men are not aware of another consideration equally obvious, namely, that it is scarcely credible, that a *spiritual* physician will cure another with entire success of the disorders under which he himself is known to labour.

George Laurence Seidenbecher, pastor at *Eisfield* in *Saxony*, adopted himself, and propagated among the multitude, the doctrine of the Millennium or thousand years reign of Christ upon earth; a doctrine which scarcely ever gains admittance but in disordered brains, and rarely produces any other fruits than incoherent dreams and idle visions. Seidenbecher was censured on account of this doctrine, and deposed from his pastoral charge [*i*].

Martin Seidel.

XLIV. It would be superfluous to name the other fanatics that deserve a place in the class now before us, since they almost all laboured under the same disorder, and the uniformity of their sentiments and conduct was so perfect, that the history of one, a few instances excepted, may, in a great measure, be considered as the history of them all. We shall therefore conclude this crazy list with a short account of the very worst of

[*i*] There is a circumstantial account of this man given by Alb. Meno Verpoorten, in his *Commentat. de vita et institutis* G. L. Seidenbecheri, Gedani, 1739, 4to.

of the whole tribe, Martin Seidelius, a native of *Silesia*, who endeavoured to form a sect in *Poland* towards the conclusion of the preceding century and the commencement of this, but could not find followers, even among the Socinians; so wild were his views, and so extravagant his notions. This audacious adventurer in religious novelties was of opinion, that God had, indeed, promised a Saviour or Messiah to the Jews; but that *this* Messiah had never appeared, and never would appear, on account of the sins of the Jewish people, which rendered them unworthy of this great deliverer. From hence he concluded that it was erroneous to look upon Christ as the Messiah; that the only office of Jesus was, to interpret and republish the law of nature, that had been perverted and obscured by the vices, corruptions, and ignorance of men; and that the whole duty of men, and all the obligations of religion were fulfilled by an obedience to this law, republished and explained by Jesus Christ. To render this doctrine more defencible and specious, or, at least, to get rid of a multitude of arguments and express declarations that might be drawn from the holy Scriptures to prove its absurdity, he boldly rejected all the books of the New Testament. The small number of disciples, that adopted the fancies of this intrepid innovator, were denominated *semi-judaizers* [*k*]. Had he appeared in our times, he would have given less offence than at the period in which he lived; for, if we except his singular notion concerning the Messiah, his doctrine was such as would at present be highly agreeable to many persons in *Great Britain, Holland*, and other countries [*l*].

[*k*] See Gustavi Georgii Zeltneri *Historia Crypto Socinismi Altorffini*, vol. i. p. 268, 335.

☞ [*l*] We are much at a loss to know what Dr. Mosheim means by this insinuation, as also the persons he has in view; for,

CHAPTER II.

The History of the Reformed Church.

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The limits of the Reformed church extended.

I. IT has been already observed, that the Reformed Church, considered in the most comprehensive sense of that term, as forming a *whole*, composed of great variety of parts, is rather united by the principles of moderation and fraternal charity, than by a perfect uniformity in doctrine, discipline, and worship. It will, therefore, be proper to take, first a view of those events that related to this great body collectively considered; and afterwards to enter into a detail of the most memorable occurrences that happened in the particular communities of which it is composed. The principal accessions it received during this century have already been mentioned, when, in the history of the Lutheran church, we related the changes and commotions that happened in the principalities of *Hessia* and *Brandenburg* [*m*]. These, however, were not the only changes that took place in favour of the Reformed church.

for, on the one hand, it is sufficiently evident that he cannot mean the Deists; and on the other, we know of no denomination of Christians, who *boldly reject all the books of the New Testament.* Our author probably meant that the part of Seidel's doctrine which represents Christ's mission as only designed to *republish* and interpret the *law of nature,* and the whole religious and moral duty of man, as consisting in an obedience to this law, would have been well received by many persons in *Great Britain* and *Holland;* but he should have said so; nothing requires such precision as accusations.

[*m*] See section ii. part ii. chap. i. sect. i. ii. where the *History of the Lutheran Church* commences with an account of the loss that church sustained by the secession of Maurice, Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel,* and John Sigismund, elector of *Brandenburg,* who embraced solemnly the doctrine of the Reformed church, the former in 1604, and the latter in 1614.

church. Its doctrine was embraced about the commencement of this century, by Adolphus, duke of *Holstein*, and it was naturally expected, that the subjects would follow the example of their prince; but this expectation was disappointed by the death of Adolphus, in the year 1616 [*n*]. Henry, duke of *Saxony*, withdrew also from the communion of the Lutherans, in whose religious principles he had been educated; and in the year 1688, embraced the doctrine of the Reformed church at *Dessaw*, in consequence, as some allege, of the solicitations of his duchess [*o*]. In *Denmark*, about the beginning of this century, there were still a considerable number of persons who secretly espoused the sentiments of that church, and more especially could never reconcile themselves to the Lutheran doctrine of Christ's *bodily presence with the sacrament of the eucharist*. They were confirmed in their attachment to the tenets of the Reformed by Hemmingius, and the other followers of Melancthon, whose secret ministry and public writings were attended with considerable success. The face of things, however, changed; and the Reformed in *Denmark* saw their expectations vanish, and their credit sink, in the year 1614, when Canut, Bishop of *Gottenburg*, who had given too plain intimations of

[*n*] Jo. Molleri *Introd. ad Histor. Chersonese Cimbricæ*, p. ii. p. 101.—Eric. Pontoppidani. *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 691.

[*o*] See Moebii *Selectæ Disp. Theolog.* p. 1137. The duke of Saxony published to the world a Confession of his Faith, containing the reasons of his change. This piece, which the divines of Leipsick were obliged by a public order to refute, was defended against their attacks by the learned Isaac de Beausobre, at that time pastor at Magdeburg, in a book, entitled, "Defense de la Doctrine des Reformées, et en particulier de la Confession de S. A. S. Misgr. le Duc Henry de Saxe contre un Livre composé par la Faculté de Theologie a Leipsic. Magdeb. 1694," in 8vo.

of his propensity to the doctrines of Calvin, was deprived of his episcopal dignity [*p*]. The progress of the Reformed religion in *Africa*, *Asia*, and *America*, is abundantly known; it was carried into these distant regions by the English and Dutch emigrants, who formed settlements there for the purposes of commerce, and founded flourishing churches in the various provinces where they fixed their habitations. It is also known, that in several places where Lutheranism was established, the French, German, and British members of the Reformed church were allowed the free exercise of their religion.

The decline of the Reformed church in France.

II. Of all the calamities that tended to diminish the influence, and eclipse the lustre, of the Reformed church, none was more dismal in its circumstances, and more unhappy in its effects, than the deplorable fate of that church in *France*. From the time of the accession of Henry IV. to the throne of that kingdom, the Reformed church had acquired the form of a body-politic [*q*]. Its members were endowed with considerable privileges; they were also secured against insults of every kind by a solemn edict, and were possessed of several fortified places, particularly the strong city of *Rochelle;* in which, to render their security still more complete, they were allowed to have their own garrisons. This body-politic was not, indeed, always under the influence and direction of leaders eminent for their prudence, or distinguished by their permanent attachment to the interests of the crown, and the person of the sovereign. Truth and candour obliges us to acknowledge, that the *Reformed* conducted themselves on some occasions, in a manner inconsistent with the demands of a regular subordination. Sometimes,

[*p*] Pontoppidan. *Annal. Eccles. Danicæ*, tom. iii. p. 695.

[*q*] *Imperium in imperio*, i. e. an empire within an empire.

times, amidst the broils and tumults of faction, they joined the parties that opposed the government; at others, they took important steps without the king's approbation or consent; nay, they went so far as to solicit, more than once, without so much as disguising their measures, the alliance and friendship of *England* and *Holland*, and formed views, which, at least in appearance, were scarcely consistent with the tranquillity of the kingdom, nor with a proper respect for the authority of its monarch. Hence the contests and civil broils that arose in the year 1621, and subsisted long, between Lewis XIII. and his protestant subjects; and hence the severe and despotic maxim of Richlieu, the first minister of that monarch, that the kingdom of *France* could never enjoy the sweets of peace, nor the satisfaction that is founded upon the assurance of public safety, before the Protestants were deprived of their towns and strong-holds, and before their rights and privileges, together with their ecclesiastical polity, were crushed to pieces, and totally suppressed. This haughty minister, after many violent efforts and hard struggles, obtained, at length, his purpose; for, in the year 1628, the town of *Rochelle*, the chief bulwark of the Reformed interest in *France*, was taken after a long and difficult siege, and annexed to the crown. From this fatal event the Reformed party in *France*, defenceless and naked, dates its decline; since, after the reduction of their chief city, they had no other resource than the pure clemency and generosity of their sovereign [*r*]. Those who judge of the reduction

[*r*] See Le Clerc. *Vie de Cardinal Richlieu*, tom. i. p. 69, 77, 177, 199, 269.—Le Vassor, *Histoire de Louis* XIII. tom. iii. p. 676. tom. iv. p. 1. and the following volumes. See also the Memoirs of Sully (the friend and confident of Henry IV. who, though a Protestant, acknowledges frankly the errors of his party), vol. iii, iv, v.

duction of this place by the maxims of civil policy, considered the conduct of the French court as entirely consistent with the principles both of wisdom and justice; since nothing can be more detrimental to the tranquillity and safety of the nation, than a body politic erected in its bosom, independent on the supreme authority of the state, and secured against its influence or inspection by an external force. And had the French monarch, satisfied with depriving the Protestants of their strong-holds, continued to maintain them in the possession of that liberty of conscience, and that free exercise of their religion, for which they had shed so much blood, and to the enjoyment of which their eminent services to the house of *Bourbon* had given them such a fair and illustrious title, it is highly probable, they would have borne with patience this infraction of their privileges, and the loss of that liberty that had been confirmed to them by the most solemn edicts.

The injurious and tyrannical treatment it receives from the French court.

III. But the court of *France*, and the despotic views of its minister, were not satisfied with this success. Having destroyed that form of civil polity that had been annexed to the Reformed church as a security for the maintenance of its religious privileges, and was afterwards considered as detrimental to the supreme authority of the state, that proceeded still further, and, regardless of the royal faith, confirmed by the most solemn declarations, perfidiously invaded those privileges of the church that were merely of a spiritual and religious nature. At first, the court and the ministers of its tyranny, put in practice all the arts of insinuation and persuasion, in order to gain over the heads of the Reformed church, and the more learned and celebrated ministers of that communion. Pathetic exhortations, alluring promises, artful interpretations of those doctrines of popery that were most disagreeable to the Protestants;

ants; in a word, every insidious method was employed to conquer their aversion to the church of Rome. Richlieu exhausted all the resources of his dexterity and artifice, and put into execution, with the most industrious assiduity, all the means that he thought the most adapted to seduce the Protestants into the Romish communion. When all these stratagems were observed to produce little or no effect, barbarity and violence were employed to extirpate and destroy a set of men, whom mean perfidy could not seduce, and whom weak arguments were insufficient to convince. The most inhuman laws that the blind rage of bigotry could dictate, the most oppressive measures that the ingenious efforts of malice could invent, were put in execution to damp the courage of a party that were become odious by their resolute adherence to the dictates of their consciences, and to bring them by force under the yoke of Rome. The French bishops distinguished themselves by their intemperate and unchristian zeal in this horrid scene of persecution and cruelty; many of the Protestants sunk under the weight of despotic oppression, and yielded up their faith to armed legions, that were sent to convert them; several fled from the storm, and deserted their families, their friends, and their country; and by far the greatest part persevered, with a noble and heroic constancy, in the purity of that religion, which their ancestors had delivered, and happily separated, from the manifold superstitions of a corrupt and idolatrous church.

The edict of Nantes revoked.

IV. When at length every method which artifice or perfidy could invent had been practised in vain against the Protestants under the reign of Lewis XIV. the bishops and Jesuits, whose counsels had a peculiar influence in the cabinet of that prince, judged it necessary to extirpate, by fire and sword, this resolute people, and thus to ruin,

as it were by one mortal blow, the cause of the Reformation in France. Their insidious arguments and importunate solicitations had such an effect upon the weak and credulous mind of Lewis, that, in the year 1685, trampling on the most solemn obligations, and regardless of all laws, human and divine, he revoked the edict of Nantes, and thereby deprived the Protestants of the liberty of serving God according to their consciences. This revocation was accompanied, indeed, with the applause of Rome, but it excited the indignation even of many Roman Catholics, whose bigotry had not effaced or suspended, on this occasion, their natural sentiments of generosity and justice. It was, moreover, followed by a measure still more tyrannical and shocking, even an express order, addressed to all the Reformed churches, to embrace the Romish faith. The consequences of this cruel and unrighteous proceeding were highly detrimental to the true interests, and the real prosperity of the French nation [*s*], by the prodigious emigrations it occasioned among the Protestants, who sought, in various parts of Europe, that religious liberty, and that humane treatment, which their mother-country had so cruelly refused them. Those among them, whom the vigilance of their enemies guarded so closely as to prevent their flight, were exposed to the brutal rage of an unrelenting soldiery,

[*s*] See the life of Isaac Beausobre (composed by the ingenious Armand de la Chapelle, in French, and subjoined to Beausobre's *Remarques Historiques, Critiques, et Philologiques sur le Nouveau Testament*), p. 259.

☞ Some late hireling writers employed by the Jesuits, have been audacious enough to plead the cause of the *Revocation* of the edict of *Nantes*. But it must be observed, to the honour of the French nation, that these impotent attempts, to justify the measures of a persecuting and unrelenting priesthood, have been treated almost universally at *Paris* with indignation and contempt.

diery, and were assailed by every barbarous form of persecution that could be adapted to subdue their courage, exhaust their patience, and thus engage them to a feigned and external profession of popery, which in their consciences they beheld with the utmost aversion and disgust. This crying act of perfidy and injustice in a prince, who on other occasions, gave evident proofs of his generosity and equity, is sufficient to shew, in their true and genuine colours, the spirit of the Romish church and of the Roman pontiffs, and the manner in which they stand affected to those whom they consider as *Heretics*. It is peculiarly adapted to convince the impartial and attentive observer, that the most solemn oaths, and the most sacred treaties, are never looked upon by this church and its pontiffs as respectable and obligatory, when the violation of them may contribute to advance their interest, or to accomplish their views.

The sufferings of the Waldenses, and protestants of the Palatinate.

V. The *Waldenses*, who lived in the vallies of *Piedmont*, and had embraced the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church of *Geneva*, were oppressed and persecuted, in the most barbarous and inhuman manner, during the greatest part of this century, by the ministers of *Rome*. This persecution was carried on with peculiar marks

contempt. They who are desirous of seeing a true state of the losses the French nation sustained, by the revocation of the famous edict now mentioned, have only to consult the curious and authentic account of the state of that nation, taken from memorials drawn up by intendants of the several provinces, for the use of the Duke of Burgundy, and published in the year 1727, in two volumes in folio, under the following title: *Etát de la France, extrait par M. le Comte de* Boulainvilliers, *des Memoires dressées par les Intendens du Royaume, par l'Ordre du Roi* Louis XIV. *à la Solicitation du Duc de Bourgogne.* See also Voltaire, *Sur la Tolerance,* p. 41. and 201. And, for an account of the conduct of the French court towards the Protestants at that dismal period, see the incomparable memorial of the learned and pious Claude, entitled, *Plaintes des Protestans de France,* p. 12—85, edit. of Cologn.

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of rage and enormity in the years 1655, 1686, and 1696, and seemed to portend nothing less than the total destruction and entire extinction of that unhappy nation [*t*]. The most horrid scenes of violence and bloodshed were exhibited on this theatre of papal tyranny; and the small numbers of the Waldenses that survived them, are indebted for their existence and support, precarious and uncertain as it is, to the continual intercession made for them by the English and Dutch governments, and also by the Swiss cantons, who never cease to solicit the clemency of the Duke of *Savoy* in their behalf.

The church of the *Palatinate*, which had been long at the head of the Reformed churches in *Germany*, declined apace from the year 1685, when a Roman Catholic prince was raised to that electorate. This decline became at length so great, that, instead of being the first, it was the least considerable of all the Protestant assemblies in that country.

The state of letters and philosophy in the Reformed church.

VI. The eminent and illustrious figure that the principal members of the Reformed church made in the learned world is too well known, and the reputation they acquired, by a successful application to the various branches of literature and science, is too well established, to require our entering into a circumstantial detail of that matter. We shall also

[*t*] Leger, *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, p. ii. c. vi. p. 72.—Gilles *Histoire Ecclesiast. des Eglises Vaudoises*, ch. xlix. p. 353.—There is a particular history of the persecution suffered by these victims of a papal cruelty in the year 1686, which was published in 8vo at Rotterdam in the year 1688.

☞ See also a pamphlet, entitled, *An account of the late Persecutions of the Waldenses by the* Duke of Savoy and the French King in the year 1686, published at Oxford in 4to in 1688. See likewise a particular detail of the miseries endured by these unfortunate objects of papal persecution in the years 1655, 1662, 1663, and 1686, related by Peter Boyer, in his history of the Vaudois, ch. 12—21. p. 72, &c.

also pass in silence the names of those celebrated men who have acquired immortal fame by their writings, and transmitted their eminent usefulness to succeeding times in their learned and pious productions. Out of the large list of these famous authors, that adorned the Reformed church, it would be difficult to select the most eminent; and this is a sufficient reason for our silence [*u*]. The supreme guide and legislator of those that applied themselves to the study of philosophy had been Aristotle, who for a long time, reigned unrivalled in the Reformed, as well as in the Lutheran schools; and was exhibited, in both, not in his natural and genuine aspect, but in the motley and uncouth form in which he had been dressed up by the scholastic doctors. But when Gassendi and Des Cartes appeared, the Stagirite began to decline, and his fame and authority diminished gradually from day to day. Among the French and Dutch, many adopted the Cartesian philoso-

☞ [*u*] The list of the eminent divines and men of learning that were ornaments to the Reformed church in the seventeenth century, is indeed extremely ample. Among those that adorned Great Britain, we shall always remember, with peculiar veneration, the immortal names of Newton, Barrow, Cudworth, Boyle, Chillingworth, Usher, Bedell, Hall, Pocock, Fell, Lightfoot, Hammond, Calamy, Walton, Baxter, Pearson, Stillingfleet, Mede, Parker, Oughtred, Burnet, Tillotson, and many others well known in the literary world. In Germany, we find Pareus, Scultet, Fabricius Alting, Pelargus, and Bergius. In Switzerland and Geneva, Hospinian, the two Buxtorfs, Hottinger, Heiddeger, and Turretin. In the churches and academies of Holland, we meet with the following learned divines: Drusus, Amama, Gomer, Rivet, Cloppenburg, Vossius, Cocceius, Noctius, Des Marets, Heidan, Momma, Burman, Wittichius, Hoornbeck, the Spanheims, Le Moyne, De Mastricht, and others. Among the French doctors, we may reckon Cameron, Chamier, Du Moulin, Mestrezat, Blondel, Drelincourt, Daille, Amyraut, the two Cappels, Du la Place, Gamstole, Croy, Morus, Le Blanc, Pagon, Bochart, Claud, Alix, Jurieu, Basnage, Abbadie, Beausobre, Lenfant, Martin, Des Vignoles, &c.

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phy at its first dawn; and a considerable number of the English embraced the principles of Gassendi, and were singularly pleased with his prudent and candid manner of investigating truth. The Aristotelians every where, and more especially in *Holland*, were greatly alarmed at this revolution in the philosophical world, and set themselves, with all their vigour, to oppose its progress. They endeavoured to persuade the people, that the cause of truth and religion must suffer considerably by the efforts that were made to dethrone Aristotle, and bring into disrepute the doctrine of his interpreters; but the principal cause of their anxiety and zeal, was the apprehension of losing their places in the public schools; a thought which they could not bear with any degree of patience [*w*]. However, the powerful lustre of truth, which unfolded daily more and more its engaging charms, and the love of liberty, which had been held in chains by Peripatetic tyranny, obliged this obstinate sect to yield, and reduced them to silence; and hence it is, that the doctors of the Reformed church carry on, at this day, their philosophical inquiries with the same freedom that is observable among the Lutherans. It may, indeed, be a question with some, whether Aristotle be not even yet, secretly revered in some of the English Universities. It is at least certain, that, although under the government of Charles II. and the two succeeding reigns, the mathematical philosophy had made a most extensive progress in *Great Britain*, there were, nevertheless, both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, some doctors, who preferred the ancient system of the schools before the new discoveries now under consideration.

Interpreters and expositors of Scripture.

VII. All the interpreters and expositors of Scripture that made a figure in the Reformed church

[*w*] See Baillet, *Vie de* Des Cartes, passim.

church about the commencement of this century, followed scrupulously the method of Calvin in their illustrations of the sacred writings, and unfolded the true and natural signification of the words of scripture, without perplexing their brains to find out deep mysteries in plain expressions, or to force, by the inventive efforts of fancy, a variety of singular notions from the metaphorical language that is frequently used by the inspired writers. This universal attachment to the method of Calvin, was indeed, considerably diminished in process of time, by the credit and influence of two celebrated commentators, who struck out new paths in the sphere of sacred criticism. These were Hugo Grotius, and John Cocceius. The former departed less from the manner of interpretations generally received than the latter. Like Calvin, he followed in his commentaries, both in the Old and New Testaments the literal and obvious signification of the words employed by the sacred writers; but he differed considerably from that great man in his manner of explaining the predictions of the prophets. The hypothesis of Grotius relating to that important subject, amounts to this: "That "the predictions of the ancient prophets were "all accomplished in the events to which they di- "rectly pointed before the coming of Christ; "and that therefore the natural and obvious "sense of the words and phrases, in which they "were delivered, does not terminate in our blessed "Lord; but that in certain of these predictions, "and more especially in those which the writers "of the New Testament apply to Christ, there "is, besides the literal and obvious signification, "a hidden and mysterious sense, that lies con- "cealed under the external mask of certain per- "sons, certain events, and certain actions, which

"are *representatives* of the person, ministry, suf-
"ferings, and merits of the Son of God."

The method of Cocceius was entirely different from this. He looked upon the whole history of the Old Testament as a perpetual and uninterrupted representation or mirror of the history of the divine Saviour, and of the Christian church; he maintained, moreover, that all the prophecies have a literal and direct relation to Christ; and he finished his romantic system by laying it down as a certain maxim, that all the events and revolutions that shall happen in the church, until the end of time, are prefigured and pointed out, though not all with the same degree of evidence and perspicuity, in different places of the Old Testament [*x*]. These two eminent commentators had each his zealous disciples and followers. The Arminians in general, many of the English and French divines, together with these warm votaries of ancient Calvinism who are called *Voetsians* (from their chief Gisbert Voet, the great adversary of Cocceius), all adopted the method of interpreting Scripture introduced by Grotius. On the other hand, many of the Dutch, Swiss, and Germans, were singularly delighted with the learned fancies of Cocceius. There are, however, still great numbers of prudent and impartial divines, who, considering the extremes into which these two eminent critics have run, and disposed to profit by what is really solid in both their systems,

[*x*] It is become almost a proverbial saying, that *in the Books of the Old Testament* Cocceius *finds* Christ *every where, while* Grotius *meets him no where.* The first part of this saying is certainly true; the latter much less so; for it appears, with sufficient evidence, from the *Commentaries* of Grotius, that he finds Christ prefigured in many places of the Old Testament, not, indeed, *directly* in the *letter* of the prophecies, where Cocceius discovers him, but *mysteriously*, under the appearance of certain persons, and in the *secret* sense of certain transactions.

systems, neither reject nor embrace their opinions in the lump, but agree with them both in some things, and differ from them both in others. It is further to be observed, that neither the followers of Grotius nor of Cocceius are agreed among themselves, and that these two general classes of expositors may be divided into many subordinate ones. A considerable number of English divines of the *Episcopal* church refused to adopt the opinions, or to respect the authority of these modern expositors; they appealed to the decisions of the primitive fathers; and maintained, that the sacred writings ought always to be understood in that sense *only*, which has been attributed to them by these ancient doctors of the rising church [*y*]. VIII.

☞ [*y*] These have been confuted by the learned Dr. Whitby, in his important work, *Concerning the Interpretation of Scripture after the Manner of the Fathers,* which was published at London in 8vo. in the year 1714, under the following title: *Dissertatio de Scripturarum Interpretatione secundum Patrum Commentarios,* &c.—In this dissertation, which was the forerunner of the many remarkable attempts that were afterwards made to deliver the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, from the restraints of human authority, the judicious author has shewn, *first,* that the Holy Scripture is the only rule of faith, and that by it alone we are to judge of the doctrines that are necessary to salvation; *secondly,* that the fathers, both of the primitive times and also of succeeding ages, are extremely deficient and unsuccessful in their explications of the sacred writings: and, *thirdly,* that it is impossible to terminate the debates that have been raised concerning the Holy Trinity, by the opinions of the Fathers, the decisions of councils, or by any tradition that is really universal. The contradictions, absurdities, the romantic conceits and extravagant fancies, that are to be found in the commentaries of the fathers, were never represented in such a ridiculous point of view as they are in this performance. The worst part of the matter is, that such a production as Dr. Whitby's, in which all the mistakes of these ancient expositors are culled out and compiled with such care, is too much adapted to prejudice young students even against what may be good in their writings, and thus disgust them against a kind of study, which when conducted with impartiality and prudence, has its uses. It is the infirmity of our nature to be fond of extremes.

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State of didactic theology in the Reformed church.

VIII. The doctrines of Christianity, which had been so sadly disfigured among the Lutherans by the obscure jargon and the intricate tenets of the scholastic philosophy, met with the same fate in the Reformed churches. The first successful effort, that prevented these churches from falling entirely under the *Aristotelian* yoke, was made by the *Arminians*, who were remarkable for expounding, with simplicity and perspicuity, the truths and precepts of religion, and who censured, with great plainness and severity, those ostentatious doctors, who affected to render them obscure and unintelligible, by expressing them in the *terms*, and reducing them under the *classes* and divisions used in the schools. The *Cartesians* and *Cocceians* contributed also to deliver theology from the chains of the Peripatetics; though it must be allowed, that it had not, in some respects, a much better fate in the hands of these its deliverers. The *Cartesians* applied the principles and tenets of their philosophy in illustrating the doctrines of the Gospel; the *Cocceians* imagined that they could not give a more sublime and engaging aspect to the Christian religion, than by representing it under the notion of a *covenant* entered into between God and man [z]; and both these manners of proceeding

☞ [z] It is somewhat surprising, that Dr. Mosheim should mention this circumstance as an invention of Cocceius, or as a manner of speaking peculiar to him. The representation of the Gospel-dispensation under the idea of a *Covenant*, whether this representation be literal or metaphorical, is to be found, almost every where, in the *Epistles of St.* Paul, and the other Apostles, though very rarely (scarcely more than twice) in the Gospels. This phraseology has also been adopted by Christians of almost all denominations. It is, indeed, a manner of speaking that has been grossly abused by those divines, who, urging the metaphor too closely, exhibit the sublime transactions of the divine wisdom under the narrow and imperfect forms of human tribunals: and thus lead to false notions

proceeding were disliked by the wisest and most learned divines of the Reformed Church. They complained with reason, that the tenets and distinctions of the Cartesian philosophy had as evident a tendency to render the doctrines of Christianity obscure and intricate as the abstruse terms, and the endless divisions and subdivisions of the Peripatetics. They observed also, that the metaphor of a covenant, applied to the Christian religion, must be attended with many inconveniencies, by leading uninstructed minds to form a variety of ill-grounded notions, which is the ordinary consequence of straining metaphors; and that it must contribute to introduce into the colleges of divinity the captious terms, distinctions, and quibbles, that are employed in the ordinary courts of justice, and thus give rise to the most trifling and ill judged discussions and debates about religious matters. Accordingly, the greatest part, both of the British and French doctors, refusing to admit the intricacies of Cartesianism, and the imagery of Cocceius, into their theological system, followed the free, easy, and unaffected method of the Arminian divines, in illustrating the truths, and enforcing the duties of Christianity.

The state of practical religion and morality.

IX. We have had formerly occasion to observe, that Dr. William Ames, a Scots divine, was one of the first among the Reformed who attempted to treat morality as a separate science, to consider it

tions of the springs of action, as well as of the dispensations and attributes of the Supreme Being. We have remarkable instances of this abuse, in a book lately translated into English, I mean, the *Economy of the Covenants*, by Witsius, in which that learned and pious man, who has deservedly gained an eminent reputation by other valuable productions, has inconsiderately introduced the captious, formal, and trivial terms, employed in human courts, into his descriptions of the stupendous scheme of redemption.

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it abstractedly from its connection with any particular system of doctrine, and to introduce new light, and a new degree of accuracy and precision, into this *master science* of life and manners. The attempt was laudable, had it been well executed; but the system of this learned writer was dry, theoretical, and subtile, and was thus much more adapted to the instruction of the studious than to the practical direction of the Christian. The Arminians, who are known to be much more zealous in enforcing the duties of Christianity than in illustrating its truths, and who generally employ more pains in directing the will than in enlightening the understanding, engaged several authors of note to exhibit the precepts and obligations of morality, in a more useful, practical and popular manner; but the English and French surpassed all the moral writers of the Reformed church in penetration, solidity, and in the ease, freedom, and perspicuity, of their method and compositions. Moses Amyraut, a man of a sound understanding and subtile genius, was the first of the French divines who distinguished themselves in this kind of writing. He composed an accurate and elaborate system of morality, in a style, indeed, that is now become obsolete; and those more moderate French writers, such as La Placette and Pictet, who acquired such a high and eminent reputation on account of their moral writings, owe to the excellent work now mentioned a considerable part of their glory. While *England* groaned under the horrors and tumults of a civil war, it was chiefly the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* that employed their talents and their pens in promoting the cause of practical religion. During this unhappy period, indeed, these doctors were remarkable for the austere gravity of their manners, and for a melancholy complexion and turn of mind; and these appeared abundantly in their compositions.

compositions. Some of them were penned with such rigour and severity, as discovered either a total ignorance of the present imperfect state of humanity, or an entire want of all sort of indulgence for its unavoidable infirmities. Others were composed with a spirit of enthusiasm, that betrayed an evident propensity to the doctrine of the Mystics. But when Hobbes appeared, the scene changed. A new set of illustrious and excellent writers arose to defend the truths of religion, and the obligations of morality, against this author, who aimed at the destruction of both, since he subjected the unchangeable nature of religion to the arbitrary will of the sovereign, and endeavoured to efface the eternal distinction that there is between moral good and evil. Cudworth, Cumberland, Sharrock, and others [*a*], alarmed at the view of a system so false in its principles, and so pernicious in its effects, rendered eminent service to the cause of religion and morals by their immortal labours, in which, arising to the first principles of things, and opening the primitive and eternal fountains of truth and good, they illustrated clearly the doctrines of the one with the fairest evidence, and established the obligations of the other on the firmest foundations.

The controversies concerning Predestination and grace.

X. About the commencement of this century, the academy of Geneva was in such high repute among the Reformed churches, that it was resorted to from all quarters by such as were desirous of a learned education; and more especially by those students of theology, whose circumstances in life permitted them to frequent this famous seminary [*b*]. Hence it very naturally happened, that

☞ [*a*] See Leland's *View of the Deistical writers*, vol. i. p. 48.

[*b*] The lustre and authority of the academy of *Geneva* began gradually to decline, from the time that the united Provinces being formed into a free and independent republic, universities were founded at *Leyden*, *Francker*, and *Utrecht*.

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that the opinions of Calvin, concerning the *Decrees of God* and *Divine Grace*, became daily more universal, and were gradually introduced every where into the schools of learning. There was not, however, any public law or confession of faith that obliged the pastors of the Reformed churches, in any part of the world, to conform their sentiments to the theological doctrines that were adapted and taught at *Geneva* [*c*]. And accordingly there were many, who either rejected entirely the doctrine of that academy on these intricate points, or received it with certain restrictions and modifications. Nay, even those who were in general attached to the theological system of *Geneva*, were not perfectly agreed about the manner of explaining the doctrines relating to the divine decrees. The greatest part were of opinion, that God had only *permitted* the first man to fall into transgression, without positively *predetermining* his fall. But others went much farther, and presumptuously forgetting their own ignorance on the one hand, and the wisdom and equity of the divine counsels on the other, maintained, that God, in order to exercise and display his awful justice and his free mercy, had decreed from all eternity the transgression of Adam, and so ordered the course of events, that our first parents could not possibly avoid their unhappy fall. Those that held this latter sentiment were denominated *Supralapsarians*, to distinguish them from the *Sublapsarian* doctors, who maintained the doctrine of *permission* already mentioned.

The Arminian schism.

XI. It is remarkable enough, that the *Supralapsarian* and *Sublapsarian* divines forgot their debates

[*c*] See, for a full demonstration of this assertion, Grotius' *Apologeticus*, &c. as also several treatises, written in Dutch by Theod. Volkh. Coornkert, of whom Arnoldt makes particular mention in his *Historia Eccles. et Hæret.* tom. ii.

debates and differences, as matters of little consequence; and united their force against those who thought it their duty to represent the Deity, as extending his goodness and mercy to all mankind. This gave rise, soon after the commencement of this century, to a deplorable schism, which all the efforts of human wisdom have since been unable to heal. James Arminius, professor of divinity in the university of Leyden, rejected the doctrine of the church of Geneva, in relation to the deep and intricate points of predestination and grace; and maintained, with the Lutherans, that God has excluded none from salvation by an absolute and eternal decree. He was joined in these sentiments by several persons in Holland, that were eminently distinguished by the extent of their learning, and the dignity of their stations; but he met with the warmest opposition from Francis Gomar his colleague, and from the principal professors in the Dutch universities. The magistrates exhorted the contending parties to moderation and charity; and observed, that, in a free state, their respective opinions might be treated with toleration, without any detriment to the essential interests of true religion. After long and tedious debates, which were frequently attended with popular tumults and civil broils, this intricate controversy was, by the councils and authority [*d*] of Maurice, prince of Orange, referred to the decision of the church, assembled in a general synod at *Dort*, in the year 1618. The most eminent divines of the United Provinces, and not only so, but learned deputies from the churches of

☞ [*d*] It was not by the authority of Prince Maurice, but by that of the States-general, that the national synod was assembled at *Dort*. The states were not indeed unanimous; three of the seven provinces protested against the holding of this synod, *viz. Holland, Utrecht*, and *Overyssel*.

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of *England, Scotland, Switzerland, Bremen, Hessia,* and the *Palatinate,* were present at this numerous and solemn assembly. It was by the sentence of these judges, that the *Arminians* lost their cause, and were declared corrupters of the true religion. It must be observed, at the same time, that the doctors of *Geneva,* who embraced the *Sublapsarian* system, triumphed over their adversaries in this synod. For though the patrons of the *Supralapsarian* cause were far from being contemptible either in point of number or of abilities; yet the moderation and equity of the British divines, prevented the synod from giving its sanction to the opinions of that presumptuous sect. Nor indeed would even the *Sublapsarians* have gained their point, or obtained to the full the accomplishment of their desires, had the doctors of *Bremen,* who, for weighty reasons were attached to the Lutherans, been able to execute their purposes [*e*].

The effects of this schism.

XII. It is greatly to be doubted, whether this victory gained over the Arminians, was upon the whole, advantageous or detrimental to the church of *Geneva* in particular, and to the Reformed church in general. It is at least certain, that after the synod of *Dort,* the doctrine of absolute decrees lost ground from day to day; and its patrons were put to the hard necessity of holding fraternal communion with those whose doctrine was either professedly Arminian, or at least nearly resembled it. The leaders of the vanquished Arminians were eminently distinguished by their eloquence, sagacity, and learning; and being highly exasperated by the injurious and oppressive treatment they met with, in consequence of their condemnation, they defended themselves, and

[*e*] We shall give, in the *History of the Arminians,* a list of the writers that appeared in this controversy; as also a more particular account of the transactions of the synod at *Dort.*

and attacked their adversaries with such spirit and vigour, and also with such dexterity and eloquence, that multitudes were persuaded of the justice of their cause. It is particularly to be observed, that the authority of the synod of *Dort* was far from being universally acknowledged among the Dutch; the provinces of *Friesland*, *Zeland*, *Utrecht*, *Guelderland*, and *Groningen*, could not be persuaded to adopt its decisions; and though, in the year 1651, they were at length gained over so far as to intimate, that they would see with pleasure the Reformed religion maintained upon the footing on which it had been placed and confirmed by the synod of *Dort*, yet the most eminent adepts in Belgic jurisprudence deny that this intimation has the force or character of a law [*f*].

In *England*, the face of religion changed considerably, in a very little time after the famous synod now mentioned; and this change, which was entirely in favour of *Arminianism*, was principally effected by the counsels and influence of William Laud, archbishop of *Canterbury*. This revolution gave new courage to the Arminians; and, from that period to the present time, they have had the pleasure of seeing the decisions and doctrines of the synod of *Dort*, relating to the points in debate between them and the Calvinists, treated, in *England*, with something more than mere indifference, beheld by some with aversion, and by others with contempt [*g*]. And indeed, if we consider the genius and spirit of the church of *England* during this period, we shall plainly see,

[*f*] See the very learned and illustrious President Bynkershoek's *Quæstiones Juris publici*, lib. ii. cap. xviii.

[*g*] Sev. Lintrupii *Dissertatio de Contemptu Concilii Dordrac, in Angliâ, in Dissert. Theologicis* Hect. Godofr. Masii, tom. i. n. xix.

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that the doctrine of the *Gomarists*, concerning Predestination and Grace, could not meet there with a favourable reception, since the leading doctors of that church were zealous in modelling its doctrine and discipline after the sentiments and institutions that were received in the primitive times, and since those early *fathers* whom they followed with a profound submission, had never presumed before Augustine, to set limits to the extent of the divine grace and mercy.

The Reformed churches in *France* seemed, at first, disposed to give a favourable reception to the decisions of this famous synod; but, as these decisions were highly displeasing to the votaries of *Rome* among whom they lived, and kindled anew their rage against the Protestants, the latter thought it their duty to be circumspect in this matter, and, in process of time, their real sentiments, and the doctrines they taught, began to differ extremely from those of the *Gomarists*. The churches of *Brandenberg* and *Bremen*, which made a considerable figure among the *Reformed* in *Germany*, would never suffer their doctors to be tied down to the opinions and tenets of the Dutch divines. And thus it happened, that the liberty of private judgment (with respect to the doctrines of Predestination and Grace), which the spirit that prevailed among the divines of *Dort*, seemed so much adapted to suppress or discourage, acquired rather new vigour, in consequence of the arbitrary proceedings of that assembly; and the Reformed church was immediately divided into *Universalists*, *Semiuniversalists*, *Supralapsarians*, and *Sublapsarians*, who, indeed, notwithstanding their dissensions, which sometimes become violent and tumultuous, live generally in the exercise of mutual toleration, and are reciprocally restrained by many reasons from indulging a spirit of hostility and persecution. What is still more remarkable, and

and therefore ought not to be passed over in silence, we see the city of *Geneva*, which was the parent, the nurse, and the guardian of the doctrine of *Absolute Predestination*, and *Particular Grace*, not only put on sentiments of charity, forbearance, and esteem for the Arminians, but become itself almost so far Arminian, as to deserve a place among the churches of that communion.

The particular tenets of the reformed churches in France.

XIII. While the Reformed churches in *France* yet subsisted, its doctors departed, in several points, from the common rule of faith that was received in the other churches of their communion. This, as appears from several circumstances, was, in a great measure, owing to their desire of diminishing the prejudices of the Roman Catholics against them, and of getting rid of a part of the odious conclusions which were drawn by their adversaries from the doctrines of *Dort*, and laid to their charge with that malignity which popish bigotry so naturally inspires. Hence we find in the books that were composed by the doctors of *Saumur* and *Sedan*, after the synod of *Dort*, many things which seem conformable, not only to the sentiments of the Lutherans, concerning *Grace*, *Predestination*, the *Person of Christ*, and the *Efficacy of the sacraments*, but also to certain peculiar opinions of the Romish church. This moderation may be dated from the year 1615, when the opinion of John Piscator, pastor at *Herborn*, concerning the *Obedience of Christ*, was tacitly adopted, or at least pronounced free from error, by the Synod of the isle of *France* [*h*]; though it had been formerly condemned and rejected in several preceding assemblies of the same nature [*i*]. Piscator maintained, that it was not

[*h*] Aymon, *Actes de tous les Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformees de France.* tom. ii. p. 275, 276.

[*i*] See Aymon, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 400, 401, 457. tom. ii. p. 13.—Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes,*

not by his obedience to the divine law that Christ made a satisfaction to that law in our stead, since this obedience was his duty considered as a man; and, therefore, being obliged to obey this law himself, his observance of it could not merit any thing for others from the Supreme Being. This opinion, as every one may see, tended to confirm the doctrine of the Romish church, concerning the *Merits of good works, the Natural power of man to obey the commands of God*, and other points of a like nature [*ii*]. These less important concessions were

tantes, livr. xii. tom. ii. p. 268. where this prelate, with his usual malignity and bitterness, reproaches the Protestants with their inconstancy. The learned Basnage has endeavoured to defend the Reformed churches against this charge, in the second volume of his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, p. 1533. But this defence is not satisfactory. ☞ To Dr. Mosheim, who speaks more than once of the Reformed church and its doctors with partiality and prejudice, this defence may not appear satisfactory; it has, nevertheless, been judged so by many persons of uncommon discernment; and we invite the reader to judge for himself.

[*ii*] ☞ It does not appear to me that any one, who looks with an unprejudiced eye, can see the least connexion between the opinion of Piscator (which I shall not here either refute or defend), and the Popish doctrine which maintains the *merit* of *good works;* for though we are not justified (i. e. pardoned or treated as if we had not offended) in consequence of Christ's active obedience to the Divine law, yet we may be so by his death and sufferings; and it is really to these, that the scriptures in many places, ascribe our acceptance. Now a person who ascribes his acceptance and salvation to the death and mediation of Christ, does not surely give any countenance to the doctrine of the strict and rigorous merit of works, although he should not be so *sharp-sighted* as to perceive the influence which certain doctors attribute to what is called Christ's *active obedience.* But let it be observed here, in a particular manner, that the opinion of Piscator is much more unfavourable to Popery than our author imagined, since it overturns totally, by a direct and most natural consequence, the popish doctrine concerning *works of Supererogation*, which is as monstrous an absurdity in morals, as Transubstantiation is in the estimation of common sense. For if Christ, in his *universal* and *perfect* obedience to the divine laws, did no more than he was *morally obliged*

were followed by others of a much more weighty and momentous kind, of which some were so erroneous that they were highly disliked and rejected, even by those of the French Protestants themselves, who were the most remarkable for their moderation, charity, and love of peace [*k*].

XIV. The doctors of *Saumur* revived a controversy, The controversy, excited by the Hypothetical Universalists.

obliged to do by his character as a *man*, is it not absurd, if not impious, to seek in the virtue of the Romish saints (all of whom were very imperfect, and some of them very worthless mortals) an exuberance of obedience, a superabundant quantity of virtue, to which they were not obliged, and which they are supposed to deposit in the hands of the popes, who are empowered to distribute it for love of money, among such as have need of it to make up their accounts?

☞ [*k*] This affirmation is groundless, and I wish it more not liable to the charge of malignity. The accusation that Dr. Mosheim brings here against the reformed churches in France is of too serious a nature not to require the most evident and circumstantial proofs. He has, however, alleged none, nor has he given any one instance, of these *weighty and momentous concessions* that were made to popery. It was not, indeed, in his power either to give arguments or examples of a satisfactory kind; and it is highly probable, that the unguarded words of Elias Saurin, minister of Utrecht, in relation to the learned Lewis Le Blanc, professor of Sedan (which dropt from the pen of the former, in his *Examen de la Theologie de M. Jurieu*) are the only testimony Dr. Mosheim had to allege, in support of an accusation, which he has not limited to any one person, but inconsiderately thrown out upon the French churches in general. Those who are desirous of a full illustration of this matter, and yet have not an opportunity of consulting the original sources of information, may satisfy their curiosity by perusing the articles *Beaulieu* and *Amyraut*, in Bayle's Dictionary; and the articles *Pajon* and *Papin* in M. de Chauffepied's Supplement to that work. Any concessions that seem to have been made by the Protestant doctors in France to their adversaries, consisted in giving an Arminian turn to some of the more rigid tenets of Calvin, relating to original sin, predestination, and grace; and this turn would undoubtedly have been given to these doctrines, had popery been out of the question. But these concessions are not certainly what our historian had in view; nor would he, in effect, have treated such concessions as erroneous.

troversy, that had for some time been suspended by their attempts to reconcile the doctrine of predestination as it had been taught at Geneva, and confirmed at Dort, with the sentiments of those who represent the Deity as offering the displays of his goodness and mercy to all mankind. The first person who made this fruitless attempt was John Cameron, whose sentiments were supported and further illustrated by Moses Amyraut, a man of uncommon sagacity and erudition. The latter applied himself, from the year 1634, with unparalleled zeal, to this arduous work, and displayed in it extraordinary exertions of capacity and genius; and so ardently was he bent on bringing it into execution, that he made, for this purpose, no small changes in the doctrine commonly received among the Reformed in France. The form of doctrine he had struck out, in order to accomplish this important reconciliation, may be briefly summed up in the following propositions: "That God desires the happiness of all men, and "that no mortal is excluded by *any divine decree*, "from the benefits that are procured by the "death, sufferings, and gospel of Christ:

"That, however, none can be made a partaker "of the blessings of the gospel, and of eternal sal- "vation, unless he *believe* in Jesus Christ:

"That, such, indeed, is the immense and uni- "versal goodness of the Supreme Being, that he "refuses to *none* the power of believing; though "he does not grant unto *all* his assistance and "succour, that they may wisely improve this "power to the attainment of everlasting salva- "tion:

"And that, in consequence of this, multitudes "perish through their own fault, and not from "any want of goodness in God [*l*]."

Those

[*l*] See Jo. Wolfg. Jaegeri *Historia Eccles. et Politica Sæculi* xvii. *Decenn.* iv. p. 522.

Those who embraced this doctrine were called *Universalists*, because they represented God as willing to shew mercy to *all* mankind; and *Hypothetical Universalists*, because the *condition* of faith in Christ was necessary to render them the objects of this mercy. It is the opinion of many, that this doctrine differs but little from that which was established by the synod of *Dort*; but such do not seem to have attentively considered either the principles from whence it is derived, or the consequence to which it leads. The more I examine this reconciling system, the more I am persuaded, than it is more than Arminianism or Pelagianism artfully dressed up, and ingeniously covered with a half-transparent veil of specious, but ambiguous expressions; and this judgment is confirmed by the language that is used in treating this subject by the modern followers of Amyraut, who express their sentiments with more courage,

 plainness,

☞ This mitigated view of the doctrine of Predestination has only one defect; but it is a capital one. It represents God as *desiring* a thing (*i. e.* salvation and happiness) for *all*, which, in order to its attainment, requires a degree of his assistance and succour, which he refuseth to *many*. This rendered grace and redemption universal only in words, but partial in reality; and therefore did not at all mend the matter. The Supralapsarians were consistent with themselves, but their doctrine was harsh and terrible, and was founded on the most unworthy notions of the Supreme Being; and, on the other hand, the system of Amyraut was full of inconsistencies; nay, even the Sublapsarian doctrine has its difficulties, and rather palliates than removes the horrors of Supralapsarianism. What then is to be done? from what quarter shall the candid and well-disposed Christian receive that solid satisfaction and wise direction, which neither of these systems is adapted to administer? These he will receive by turning his dazzled and feeble eye from the secret decrees of God, which were neither designed to be rules of action, nor sources of comfort to mortals here below; and by fixing his view upon the mercy of God, as it is manifested through Christ, the pure laws and sublime promises of his gospel, and the respectable equity of his present government and his future tribunal.

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plainness, and perspicuity, than the spirit of the times permitted their master to do. A cry was raised in several French synods, against the doctrine of Amyraut; but after it had been carefully examined by them, and defended by him at their public meetings with his usual eloquence and erudition, he was honourably acquitted [*m*]. The opposition he met with from *Holland* was still more formidable, as it came from the learned and celebrated pens of Rivet, Spanheim, Des Marets, and other adversaries of note; he nevertheless answered them with great spirit and vigour, and his cause was powerfully supported afterwards by Daille, Blondel, Mestrezat, and Claude [*n*]. This controversy was carried on for a long time, with great animosity, and little fruit to those who opposed the opinions of the French innovator. For the sentiments of Amyraut were not only received in all the universities of the Hugonots in France, and adopted by divines of the highest note in that nation, but also spread themselves as far as *Geneva*, and were afterwards disseminated by the French protestants, who fled from the rage of persecution, through all the Reformed churches of Europe. And they now are so generally received, that few have the courage to oppose or decry them.

The contests occasioned by De la Place and Cappel.

XV. The desire of mitigating certain doctrines of the Reformed church, that drew upon it the heaviest censures from both the Roman catholics and some Protestant communions was the true origin

[*m*] See Aymon, *Actes des Synodes Nationeaux des Eglises Reformées en France*, tom. ii. p. 571. p. 604.—Blondel, *Actes Authentiques des Eglises Reformées touchant la paix et la charité fraternelle*, p. 19—82. Edit. of Amsterdam published in 4to, in the year 1655.

[*n*] Bayle's Dictionary, vol. i. at the articles *Amyraut* and *Blondel;* and vol. ii. at the article *Daille*.—See Christ. Pfaffius, *De formula consensus*, cap. i. p. 4.

origin of the opinion propagated, in the year 1640, by De la Place, concerning the imputation of original sin. This divine, who was the intimate friend of Amyraut, and his colleague at *Saumur*, rejected the opinion generally received in the Schools of the Reformed, that the *personal and actual transgression of the first man is imputed to his posterity.* He maintained, on the contrary, that God imputes to every man his natural corruption, his personal guilt, and his propensity to sin; or, to speak in the theological style, he affirmed, that *original sin is indirectly, and not directly imputed to mankind.* This opinion was condemned as erroneous, in the year 1642, by the synod of *Charenton*, and many Dutch and Helvetic doctors of great name set themselves to refute it [*o*]; while the love of peace and union prevented its author from defending it in a public and open manner [*p*]. But neither the sentence of the synod, nor the silence of De La Place, could hinder this sentiment from making a deep impression on the minds of many, who looked upon it as conformable to the plainest dictates of justice and equity; nor could they prevent its being transmitted, with the French exiles, into other countries.

In the class of those who, to diminish or avoid the resentment of the papists, made concessions inconsistent with truth, and detrimental to the purity of the Protestant religion, many place Lewis Cappel, professor at *Saumur*, who, in a voluminous and elaborate work [*q*], undertook to

[*o*] Aymon, *Synodes des Eglises Reformées de France,* tom. ii. p. 680.

[*p*] Christ. Eberh. Weismanni *Histor. Eccles. Sæc.* xvii. p. 817.

[*q*] This work, which is entitled *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum,* is still extant, with its *Vindiciæ,* in the works of Cappel, printed at Amsterdam, in the year 1689, in folio, and in the *Critica Sacra* N. T. published in folio at Paris, 1650.

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to prove that the Hebrew points were not used by the sacred writers, and were a modern invention added to the text by the Masorethes [*r*]. It is at least certain, that this hypothesis was highly agreeable to the votaries of *Rome*, and seemed manifestly adapted to diminish the authority of the holy Scriptures, and to put them upon a level with oral tradition, if not to render their decisions still less respectable and certain [*s*]. On these accounts, the system of this famous professor was opposed, with the most ardent efforts of erudition and zeal, by several doctors both of the Reformed and Lutheran churches, who were eminent for their knowledge of the Hebrew language and their acquaintance with Oriental learning in general [*t*].

Lewis Le Blanc.

XVI. Though these great men gave offence to many, by the freedom and novelty of their sentiments, yet they had the approbation and esteem of the greatest part of the Reformed churches; and the equity of succeeding generations removed the aspersions that envy had thrown upon them during their lives, and made ample amends for the

☞ [*r*] It was also Cappel who affirmed that the characters which compose the Hebrew text, were those that the Chaldeans used after the Babylonish captivity, the Jews having always made use of the Samaritan characters before that period.

☞ [*s*] This absurd notion of the tendency of Cappel's hypothesis is now hissed almost entirely out of the learned world. Be that as it may, the hypothesis in question is by no means peculiar to Cappel; it was adopted by Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, the three great pillars of the Reformation; as also by Munster, Olivetan, Masius, Scaliger, Cassaubon, Drusius, De Dieu, Walton, and Bochart, those eminent men, who have cast such light on sacred philology; so that Cappel had only the merit of supporting it by new arguments, and placing it in a striking and luminous point of view.

[*t*] See B. Jo. Christ. Wolfii *Biblioth. Hebraica*, part ii. p. 27.

the injuries they had received from several of their cotemporaries. This was far from being the case of those doctors, who either openly attempted to bring about a complete reconciliation and union between the Reformed and Romish churches, or explained the doctrines of Christianity in such a manner as lessened the difference between the two communions, and thereby rendered the passage from the former to the latter less disgusting and painful. The attempts of these peace-makers, were looked upon as odious, and in the issue they proved utterly unsuccessful. The most eminent of these reconciling doctors were Lewis Le Blanc, professor at *Sedan*, and Claude Pajon, minister of *Orleans* [*u*], who were both remarkable for the persuasive power of their eloquence, and discovered an uncommon degree of penetration and sagacity in their writings and negociations. The former passed in review many of the controversies that divide the two churches, and seemed to prove with the utmost perspicuity, that some of them were merely disputes about words, and that the others were of much less consequence than was generally imagined [*w*]. This manner of stating the differences between the two churches drew upon Le Blanc the indignation of those, who,

☞ [*u*] It is difficult to conceive, what could engage Dr. Mosheim to place Pajon in the class of those who explained the doctrines of Christianity in such a manner, as to diminish the difference between the doctrine of the Reformed and Romish churches. Pajon was, indeed, a moderate divine, and leaned somewhat towards the Arminian system; and this propensity was not uncommon among the French Protestants. But few doctors of this time wrote with more learning, zeal, and judgment against popery than Claude Pajon, as appears from his excellent treatise against Nicole, entitled, "Examen du Livre, qui porte pour titre prejugees legitimes contre les Calvinistes."

[*w*] In his *Theses Theologicæ*, which have passed through several editions, and are highly worthy of an attentive perusal. They were twice printed at London.

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who looked upon all attempts to soften and modify controverted doctrines as dangerous and detrimental to the cause of truth [x]. On the other hand, the acuteness and dexterity with which he treated this nice matter, made a considerable impression upon several persons, and procured him disciples, who still entertain his reconciling sentiments, but either conceal them entirely, or discover them with caution, as they are known to be displeasing to the greatest part of the members of both communions.

Claude Pajon.

XVII. The modifications under which Pajon exhibited some of the doctrines of the Reformed church, were also extremely offensive and unpopular. This ecclesiastic applied the principles and tenets of the Cartesian philosophy, of which he was a warm and able defender, in explaining the opinions of that church relating to the corruption of human nature, the state of its moral faculties and powers, the grace of God, and the conversion of sinners; and, in the judgment of many, he gave an erroneous interpretation of these opinions. It is, indeed, very difficult to determine what were the real sentiments of this man; nor is it easy to say, whether this difficulty be most owing to the affected obscurity and ambiguity under which he disguised them, or to the inaccuracy with which his adversaries, through negligence or malignity, have represented them. If we may give credit to the latter, his doctrine amounts to the following propositions: "That "the corruption of man is less, and his natural "power to amend his ways greater, than is gene-"rally imagined:—That *original sin* lies in the "*understanding* alone, and consists principally in "the obscurity and imperfection of our ideas "of divine things:—That this imperfection of "the

[x] See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article *Beaulieu*.

" the human understanding has a pernicious in-
" fluence upon the *will*, excites in it vicious pro-
" pensities, and thus leads it to sinful actions ;—
" That this internal disorder is healed, not by
" the mere efforts of our *natural faculties* and
" powers, but by the assistance and *energy* of the
" *Holy Spirit*, operating upon the mind by the
" *divine word* as its *mean* or instrument :—That,
" however, this word is not endowed with any
" divine intrinsic energy, either *natural* or *super-*
" *natural*, but only with a *moral influence*, i. e.
" that it corrects and improves the understand-
" ing, in the same manner as human truth does,
" even by imparting clear and distinct notions of
" spiritual and divine things, and furnishing so-
" lid arguments for the truth and divinity of the
" Christian religion, and its perfect conformity
" with the dictates of right reason :—And that,
" of consequence, every man, if no internal or
" external impediments destroy or suspend the
" exertion of his natural powers and faculties,
" may, by the *use of his own reason*, and a careful
" and assiduous *study of the revealed will of God*,
" be *enabled* to correct what is amiss in his senti-
" ments, affections, and actions, *without any extra-*
" *ordinary assistance from the Holy Ghost* [*y*]."

Such is the account of the opinions of Pajon that is given by his adversaries. On the other hand, if we take our ideas of his doctrine from himself, we shall find this account disingenuous and erroneous. Pajon intimates plainly his assent to the doctrines that were confirmed by the synod of *Dort*, and that are contained in the catechisms and confessions of faith of the Reformed churches;

[*y*] Fred. Spanheim, *Append. ad Elenchum Controversiar.* tom. iii. opp. p. 882.—Jurieu. *Traité de la Natura et de la Grace*, p. 35.—Val. Ern. Locheri *Exercit. de* Claud. Pajonii *ejusque sectator, doctrina et fatis Lips.* 1692.

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churches; he complains that his doctrine has been ill understood or wilfully perverted; and he observes, that he did not deny entirely an immediate operation of the Holy Spirit on the minds of those that are really converted to God, but only such an immediate operation as was not accompanied with the ministry and efficacy of the divine word; or, to express the matter in other terms, he declared that he could not adopt the sentiments of those who represent that *word* as no more than an *instrument* void of intrinsic efficacy, a mere external sign of an immediate operation of the Spirit of God [z]. This last declaration is, however, both obscure and captious. Be that as it may, Pajon concludes by observing, that we ought not to dispute about the manner in which the Holy Spirit operates upon the minds of men, but content ourselves with acknowledging, that he is the true and original author of all that is good in the affections of our heart, and the actions that proceed from them. Notwithstanding these declarations, the doctrine of this learned and ingenious ecclesiastic was not only looked upon as heterodox by some of the most eminent divines of the Reformed church, but was also condemned in the year 1677, by several synods in France, and, in 1686, by a synod assembled at Rotterdam.

Papin.

XVIII. This controversy, which seemed to be brought to a conclusion by the death of Pajon, was revived, or rather continued, by Isaac Papin, his nephew, a native of Blois, who, by his writings and travels, was highly instrumental in communicating to *England*, *Holland*, and *Germany*, the

[z] All these declarations made by Pajon may be seen in a confession of his faith, supposed to have been drawn up by himself, and published by the learned M. de Chauffepied, in his *Nouveau Dictionaire Histor. et Critique*, tom. ii. p. 164. in note (*a*) of the article Le Cene.

the contagion of these unhappy debates. This ecclesiastic expressed his sentiments without ambiguity or reserve, and propagated every where the doctrine of his uncle, which, according to his crude and harsh manner of representing it, he reduced to the two following propositions:

"That the natural powers and faculties of man "are more than sufficient to lead him to the "knowledge of divine truth:

"That, in order to produce that amendment of "the heart, which is called *regeneration*, nothing "more is requisite than to put the body, if its ha-"bit is bad, into a sound state by the power of "physic, and then to set truth and falsehood be-"fore the *understanding*, and virtue and vice be-"fore the *will*, in their genuine colours, clearly "and distinctly, so as that their nature and pro-"perties may be fully apprehended."

This and the other opinions of Papin were refuted, with a considerable degree of acrimony, in the year 1686, by the famous Jurieu, professor of divinity, and pastor of the French church at Rotterdam, and they were condemned the year following by the synod of Boisleduc. In the year 1688, they were condemned with still greater marks of severity, by the French synod at the Hague, where a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against their author. Exasperated at these proceedings, Papin returned into France in the year 1690, where he abjured publicly the Protestant religion, and embraced the communion of the church of Rome, in which he died in the year 1709 [*a*]. It has been affirmed by some that this ingenuous man was treated with great rigour and injustice; and that his theological opinions were unfaithfully represented by his violent and

[*a*] See Jurieu *De la Nature et de la Grace.*—Molleri *Cimbria literat.* tom. ii. p. 608.

and unrelenting adversary, Jurieu, whose warmth and impetuosity in religious controversy are well known. How far this affirmation may be supported by evidence, we cannot pretend to determine. A doctrine something like that of Pajon, was maintained in several treatises, in the year 1684, by Charles le Cene, a French divine of uncommon learning and sagacity, who gave a new and very singular translation of the Bible [*b*]. But he entirely rejected the doctrine of *Original Sin*, and of the importance of human nature: and asserted, that it was in every man's power to amend his ways, and arrive at a state of obedience and virtue, by the mere use of his natural faculties, and an attentive study of the divine word; more especially, if these were seconded by the advantage of a good education, and the influence of virtuous examples. Hence several divines pretend that his doctrine is, in many respects, different from that of Pajon [*c*].

Le Cene.

The state of the church of England under James I.

XIX. The church of *England* had, for a long time, resembled a ship tossed on a boisterous and tempestuous ocean. The opposition of the *Papists* on the one hand, and the discontents and remonstrances of the *Puritans* on the other, had kept it in a perpetual ferment. When, on the death of Elizabeth, James I. ascended the throne, these latter conceived the warmest hopes of seeing more serene and prosperous days, and of being delivered from the vexations and oppressions they were constantly exposed to, on account of their attachment to the discipline and worship of the church of *Geneva*. These hopes were so much the more natural, as the king had received

[*b*] This translation was published at *Amsterdam* in the year 1741, and was condemned by the French synod in *Holland*.

[*c*] See the learned and laborious M. Chauffepied's *Nouv. Diction. Hist. et Critiq.* tom. ii. p. 160. at the article *Le Cene.*

received his education in *Scotland*, where the *Puritans* prevailed, and had, on some occasions, made the strongest declarations of his attachment to their ecclesiastical constitution [*d*]. And some of the first steps taken by this prince seemed to encourage these hopes, as he appeared desirous of assuming the character and office of an arbitrator, in order to accommodate matters between the church and the Puritans [*e*]. But these expectations soon vanished, and, under the government of James, things put on a new face. As the desire of unlimited power and authority was the reigning

☞ [*d*] In a General Assembly held at *Edinburgh*, in the year 1590, this prince is said to have made the following public declaration: "I praise God that I was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place as to be the king of the sincerest (i. e. *purest*) kirk in the world. The kirk of *Geneva* keep pasche and yule (i. e. *Easter* and *Christmas*). What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk of *England*, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings (i. e. *the elevation of the host*). I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort your people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall do the same." Calderwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 256.

☞ [*e*] The religious disputes between the church and the Puritans induced James to appoint a conference between the two parties at *Hampton Court*; at which nine bishops, and as many dignitaries of the church appeared on the one side, and four puritan ministers on the other. The king himself took a considerable part in the controversy against the latter; and this was an occupation well adapted to his taste; for nothing could be more pleasing to this royal pedant, than to dictate magisterially to an assembly of divines concerning points of faith and discipline, and to receive the applauses of these holy men for his superior zeal and learning. The conference continued three days. The first day it was held between the king and the bishops and deans, to whom James proposed some objections against certain expressions in the liturgy, and a few alterations in the ritual of the church; in consequence of which, some slight alterations were made. The two follow-

ing passion in the heart of this monarch, so all his measures, whether of a civil or religious nature, were calculated to answer the purposes of his ambition. The *Presbyterian* form of ecclesiastical government seemed less favourable to his views than the *episcopal hierarchy;* as the former exhibits a kind of *republic,* which is administered by various rules of equal authority; while the latter approaches much nearer to the spirit and genius of *monarchy.* The very name of a *republic synod,* or *council,* was odious to James, who dreaded every thing that had a popular aspect; hence he distinguished the bishops with peculiar marks of his favour, extended their authority, increased their prerogatives, and publicly adopted and inculcated the following maxim, *No bishop, no king.* At the same time, as the church of *England* had not yet abandoned the Calvinistical doctrines of *Predestination* and *Grace,* he also adhered to them for some time, and gave his theological representatives, in the synod of *Dort,* an order to join in the condemnation of the sentiments of Arminius, in relation to these deep and intricate points. Abbot,

ing days the Puritans were admitted, whose proposals and remonstrances may be seen in Neal's *History of the Puritans,* vol. ii. p. 15. Dr. Warner, in his *Ecclesiastical History of England,* observes, that this author must be read with caution, on account of his unfairness and partiality; why therefore did he not take his account of the *Hampton Court* conference from a better source? The different accounts of the opposite parties, and more particularly those published by Dr. Barlow, dean of *Chester,* on the one hand, and Patrick Galloway, a Scots writer, on the other (both of whom were present at the conference), must be carefully consulted, in order to our forming a proper idea of these theological transactions. James at least obtained, on this occasion, the applause he had in view. The archbishop of *Canterbury,* (Whitgift) said, "That undoubtedly his majesty spoke by the special assistance of God's spirit:" and Bancroft, falling on his knees, with his eyes raised to———James, expressed himself thus: "I protest my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us such a king, as since Christ's time has not been."

Abbot, archbishop of *Canterbury*, a man of remarkable gravity [*f*], and eminent zeal, both for civil and religious liberty, whose lenity towards their

☞ [*f*] Lord Clarendon says, in his History of the Rebellion, that "Abbot was a man of very morose manners, and "of a very sour aspect, which at that time was called *Gravity*." If, in general, we strike a medium between what Clarendon and Neal say of this prelate, we shall probably arrive at the true knowledge of his character. See the *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 88. and Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 243. It is certain, that nothing can be more unjust and partial than Clarendon's account of this eminent prelate, particularly when he says, that *he neither understood nor regarded the constitution of the church*. But it is too much the custom of this writer, and others of his stamp, to give the denomination of latitudinarian indifference to that charity, prudence, and moderation, by which alone the *best interests* of the church (though not the personal views of many of its ambitious members) can be established upon *firm* and *permanent* foundations. Abbot would have been reckoned a good churchman by some, if he had breathed that spirit of despotism and violence, which, being essentially incompatible with the spirit and character of a people, not only free, but jealous of their liberty, has often endangered the church by exciting that resentment which always renders opposition excessive. Abbot was so far from being indifferent about the *constitution of the church*, or inclined to the *Presbyterian discipline* (as this noble author affirms in his *History of the Rebellion*), that it was by his zeal and dexterity that the clergy of *Scotland*, who had refused to admit the Bishops as moderators in their church-synods, were brought to a more tractable temper, and things put into such a situation as afterwards produced the entire establishment of the episcopal order in that nation. It is true, that Abbot's zeal in this affair was conducted with great prudence and moderation, and it was by these that his zeal was rendered successful. Nor have these his transactions in *Scotland*, where he went as chaplain to the Lord High Treasurer Dunbar, been sufficiently attended to by historians; nay, they seem to have been entirely unknown to some, who have pretended to depreciate the conduct and principles of this virtuous and excellent prelate. King James, who had been so zealous a presbyterian in appearance before his accession to the Crown of *England*, had scarcely set his foot out of *Scotland*, when he conceived the design of restoring the ancient form of episcopal government in that kingdom; and it was Abbot's transactions there that brought him to that

their ancestors the *Puritans* still celebrate in the highest strains [*g*], used his utmost endeavours to

high favour with the king, which, in the space of little more than three years, raised him from the deanry of *Winchester* to the see of *Canterbury*. For it was by Abbot's mild and prudent counsels, that Dunbar procured that famous act of the General Assembly of *Scotland*, by which it was provided, "that the King should have the calling of all general assem- "blies—that the bishops (or their deputies) should be per- "petual moderators of the Diocesian synods—that no ex- "communication should be pronounced without their appro- "bation—that all presentations of benefices should be made "by them—that the deprivation or suspension of ministers "should belong to them—that the visitation of the diocese "should be performed by the bishop or his deputy only— "and that the bishop should be moderator of all conventions "for exercisings or *prophesyings* (i. e. preaching) within their "bounds." See Calderwood's *True History of the Church of Scotland*, fol. 1680. 588, 589. Heylin's *History of the Presbyterians*, p. 381, 382. and above all, Speed's *History of Great Britain*, Book x. fol. 1227. The writers who seem the least disposed to speak favourably of this wise and good prelate, bear testimony, nevertheless, to his eminent piety, his exemplary conversation and his inflexible probity and integrity: and it may be said with truth, that, if his moderate measures had been pursued, the liberties of *England* would have been secured, Popery discountenanced, and the church prevented from running into those excesses which afterwards proved so fatal to it. If Abbot's candour failed him on any occasion, it was in the representations, which his rigid attachment, not to the *discipline*, but to the *doctrinal* tenets of Calvinism, led him to give of the Arminian doctors. There is a remarkable instance of this in a letter of his to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated at *Lambeth* the 1st of June 1613, and occasioned by the arrival of Grotius in *England*, who had been expressly sent from *Holland*, by the Remonstrants, or Arminians, to mitigate the king's displeasure and antipathy against that party. In this letter, the Archbishop represents Grotius (with whom he certainly was not worthy to be named, either in point of learning, sagacity, or judgment) as a *Pedant;* and mentions, with a high degree of complacence and approbation, the absurd and impertinent judgment of some civilians and divines, who called this immortal ornament of the republic of letters, a *smatterer* and a *simple fellow*. See Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 459.

[*g*] See Anton. Wood, *Athenæ Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 583.—Neal's *History of the Puritans.* vol. ii. ch. iv. p. 242.—Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i.

to confirm the king in the principles of Calvinism, to which he himself was thoroughly attached. But scarcely had the British divines returned from the synod of *Dort*, and given an account of the laws that had been enacted, and the doctrines that had been established by that famous assembly, than the king, together with the greatest part of the episcopal clergy, discovered in the strongest terms, their dislike of these proceedings, and judged the sentiments of Arminus, relating to the divine decrees, preferable to those of Gomarus and Calvin [*h*]. This sudden and unexpected

[*h*] See Heylin's *History of the Five Articles.*—Neal, ib. vol. ii. ch. ii. p. 117. This latter author tells us, that the following verses were made in England, with a design to pour contempt on the synod of *Dort*, and to turn its proceedings into ridicule:

"Dordrechti Synodus, Nodus; Chorus Integer, Æger;
"Conventus, Ventus: Sessio, Stramen. Amen *!"

With respect to James, those who are desirous of forming a just idea of the character, proceedings, and theological fickleness and inconstancy of that monarch, must peruse the writers of English history, more especially Larrey and Rapin Thoyras. The greatest part of these writers tell us, that, towards the latter end of his days, James, after having deserted from the Calvinists to the Arminians, began to discover a singular propensity towards Popery; and they affirm positively, that he entertained the most ardent desire of bringing about a union between the church of *England* and the church of *Rome*. In this, however, these writers seem to have gone too far; for though many of the proceedings of this injudicious prince deserve justly the sharpest censure, yet it is both rash and unjust to accuse him of a design to introduce Popery into *England*.

☞ * It would be a difficult, nay, an unsurmountable task, to justify all the proceedings of the synod of Dort; and it were much to be wished, that they had been more conformable to the spirit of Christian charity, than the representations of history, impartially weighed, shew them to have been. We are not, however, to conclude from the insipid monkish lines here quoted by Dr. Mosheim, that the transactions and decisions of that synod were universally condemned or despised in England. It had its partisans in the established church, as well as among the Puritans; and its decisions, in point of doctrine, were looked upon by many, and not without reason, as agreeable to the tenor of the book of Articles established by law in the Church of England.

pected change in the theological opinions of the court and clergy, was certainly owing to a variety of reasons, as will appear evident to those who have any acquaintance with the spirit and transactions of these times. The principal one, if we are not deceived, must be sought in the plans of a further reformation of the church of *England*, that were proposed by several eminent ecclesiastics, whose intention was to bring it to as near a resemblance as was possible of the primitive church. And every one knows, that the peculiar doctrines to which the victory was assigned by the synod of *Dort* were absolutely unknown in the first ages of the Christian church [*i*]. Be that

It is not to be believed, that a prince, who aspired after arbitrary power and uncontrouled dominion, could ever have entertained a thought of submitting to the yoke of the Roman pontiff ‡. The truth of the matter seems to be this, that towards the latter end of his reign, James began to have less aversion to the doctrines and rites of the Romish church, and permitted certain religious observances, that were conformable to the spirit of that church, to be used in England. This conduct was founded upon a manner of reasoning, which h had learned from several bishops of his time, viz. That the primitive church is the model which all Christian churches ought to imitate in doctrine and worship; that, in proportion as any church approaches to this primitive standard of truth and purity, it must become proportionably pure and perfect; and that the Romish church retained more of the spirit and manner of the primitive church than the Puritan or Calvinist churches. ☞ Of these three propositions, the two first are undoubtedly true, and the last is evidently and demonstrably false. Besides, this makes nothing to the argument; for, as James had a manifest aversion to the Puritans, it could, in his eyes, be no very great recommendation of the Romish church, that it surpassed that of the Puritans in doctrine and discipline.

☞ [*i*] Dr. Mosheim has annexed the following note to this passage: "Perhaps the king entered into these ecclesiastical proceedings with the more readiness, when he reflected on the civil commotions and tumults that an attachment to the Presbyterian religion had occasioned in Scotland. There are

‡ This remark is confuted by fact, observation, and the perpetual contradictions that are observable in the conduct of men: besides, see the note (*i*).

that as it may, this change was fatal to the interests of the *Puritans;* for, the king being indisposed to the opinions and institutions of Calvinism, the Puritans were left without defence, and exposed anew to the animosity and hatred of their adversaries, which had been, for some time, suspended; but now broke out with redoubled vehemence, and at length kindled a religious war, whose consequences were deplorable beyond expression. In the year 1625, died James I. the bitterest enemy of the doctrine and discipline of the Puritans, to which he had been in his youth most warmly attached; the most inflexible and ardent patron of the Arminians, in whose ruin and condemnation in *Holland* he had been singularly instrumental; and the most zealous defender of

 episcopal

are also some circumstances that intimate plainly enough, that James before his accession to the crown of England, was very far from having an aversion to Popery." Thus far the note of our author, and whoever looks into the Historical View of the Negociations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, from the year 1592 to 1617, extracted from the MSS. State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes and Anthony Bacon, Esq. and published in the year 1749, by the learned and judicious Dr. Birch, will be persuaded, that towards the year 1595, this fickle and unsteady prince had really formed a design to embrace the faith of Rome. See in the curious collection now mentioned, the Postscript of a letter from Sir Thomas Edmondes to the Lord High Treasurer, dated the 20th of December 1595. We learn also, from the Memoirs of Sir Ralph Winwood, that, in the year 1596, James sent Mr. Ogilby, a Scots baron, into Spain, to assure his Catholic Majesty, that he was then ready and resolved to embrace Popery, and to propose an alliance with that king and the Pope against the queen of England. See State Tracts, vol. i. p. 1. See also an extract of a letter from Tobie Matthew, D. D. dean of Durham, to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, containing an information of Scotch affairs, in Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 201. Above all, see Harris' Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of James I. p. 29, note (N). This last writer may be added to Larrey and Rapin, who have exposed the pliability and inconsistency of this self-sufficient monarch.

episcopal government, against which he had more than once expressed himself in the strongest terms. He left the constitution of *England*, both ecclesiastical and civil, in a very unsettled and fluctuating state, languishing under intestine disorders of various kinds.

The state of the Church of England under Charles I.

XX. His son and successor Charles I. who had imbibed his political and religious principles, had nothing so much at heart as to bring to perfection what his father had left unfinished. All the exertions of his zeal, and the whole tenor of his administration, were directed towards the three following objects: "The extending the royal prerogative, and raising the power of the crown above the authority of the law—the reduction of all the churches in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* under the jurisdiction of bishops, whose government he looked upon as of divine institution, and also as the most adapted to guard the privileges and majesty of the throne—and, lastly, the suppression of the opinions and institutions that were peculiar to Calvinism, and the modelling of the doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, and polity of the church of *England*, after the spirit and constitution of the primitive church." The person whom the king chiefly intrusted with the execution of this arduous plan, was William Laud, bishop of *London*, who was afterwards raised in the year 1633, to the see of *Canterbury*, and exhibited in these high stations a mixed character, composed of great qualities and great defects. The voice of justice must celebrate his erudition, his fortitude, his ingenuity, his zeal for the sciences, and his munificence and liberality to men of letters; and, at the same time, even charity must acknowledge with regret, his inexcusable imprudence, his excessive superstition, his rigid attachment to the sentiments, rites, and institutions of the ancient church, which made him behold

hold the Puritans and Calvinists with horror [*k*]; and that violent spirit of animosity and persecution that discovered itself in the whole course of his ecclesiastical administration [*l*]. This haughty prelate executed the plans of his royal master, and fulfilled the views of his own ambition, without using those mild and moderate methods, that prudence employs to make unpopular schemes go down. He carried things with a high hand; when he found the laws opposing his views, he treated them with contempt, and violated them without hesitation; he loaded the Puritans with injuries and vexations, and aimed at nothing less than their total extinction; he rejected the Calvinistical doctrine of Predestination publicly in the year 1625; and, notwithstanding the opposition and remonstrances of Abbot, substituted the Arminian system in its place [*m*]; he revived many religious rites and ceremonies, which though stamped

[*k*] See Ant. Wood, *Athenæ Oxoniens.* tom. ii. p. 55.—Heylin's *Cyprianus,* or the History of the Life and death of William Laud, published at London in 1668.—Clarendon's History, vol. i.

[*l*] "Sincere he undoubtedly was (says Mr. Hume), and, however misguided, actuated by religious principles in all his pursuits; and it is to be regretted, that a man of such spirit, who conducted his enterprizes with such warmth and industry, had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favourable to the general happiness of human society."

[*m*] See Mich. le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis* XIII. tom. v. p. 262.

☞ This expression may lead the uninformed reader into a mistake, and make him imagine that Laud had caused the Calvinistical doctrine of the xxxix Articles to be abrogated, and the tenets of Arminius to be substituted in their place. It may therefore be proper to set this matter in a clearer light. In the year 1625, Laud wrote a small treatise to prove the orthodoxy of the Arminian doctrines; and, by his credit with the duke of Buckingham, had Arminian and Anti-puritanical chaplains placed about the king. This step increased the debates between the Calvinistical and Arminian doctors, and produced

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stamped with the sanction of antiquity, were nevertheless marked with the turpitude of superstition, produced the warmest animosities and dissensions. To calm these, the king issued out a proclamation dated the 14th of January 1626, the literal tenor of which was, in truth, more favourable to the Calvinists than to the Arminians, though, by the manner in which it was interpreted and executed by Laud, it was turned to the advantage of the latter. In this proclamation it was said expressly, "that his majesty would admit of no "innovations in the *doctrine*, discipline, or government of the "church;" (N. B. *The doctrine of the church previously to "this, was Calvinistical,*) "and therefore charges all his sub-"jects, and especially the clergy, not to publish or maintain in "preaching or writing, any *new inventions* or *opinions*, contrary "to the said doctrine and discipline established by law, &c." It was certainly a very singular instance of Laud's indecent partiality, that this proclamation was employed to suppress the books that were expressly written in the defence of the xxxix Articles, while the writings of the Arminians, who certainly opposed these articles, were publicly licensed. I do not here enter into the merits of the cause; I only speak of the tenor of the Proclamation, and the manner of its execution.

This manner of proceeding shewed how difficult and arduous a thing it is to change systems of doctrine established by law, since neither Charles, who was by no means diffident of his authority, nor Laud, who was far from being timorous in the use and abuse of it, attempted to reform articles of faith, that stood in direct opposition to the Arminian doctrines, which they were now promoting by the warmest encouragements, and which were daily gaining ground under their protection. Instead of reforming the xxxix Articles, which step would have met with great opposition from the House of Commons, and from a considerable part of the clergy and laity, who were still warmly attached to Calvinism, Laud advised the king to have these articles reprinted, with an ambiguous *declaration* prefixed to them, which might tend to silence or discourage the reigning controversies between the Calvinists and Arminians, and thus secure to the latter an unmolested state, in which they would daily find their power growing under the countenance and protection of the court. This *declaration*, which, in most editions of the Common-Prayer, is still to be found at the head of the articles, is a most curious piece of political theology; and had it not borne hard upon the right of private judgment, and been evidently designed to favour one party, though it carried the aspect of a perfect neutrality, it might have been looked upon as a wise and provident measure to secure the tranquillity

tion, and had been justly abrogated on that account; he forced bishops upon the Scots nation, which

tranquillity of the church. For, in the tenor of this declaration, precision was sacrificed to prudence and ambiguity, nay, even contradictions, were preferred before consistent, clear, and positive decisions, that might have fomented dissensions and discord. The declaration seemed to favour the Calvinists, since it prohibited the affixing any new sense to any article; it also favoured in effect the Arminians, as it ordered all curious search about the contested points to be laid aside, and these disputes to be shut up in God's promises, as they are generally set forth to us in holy scriptures, and the general meaning of the articles of the church of England according to them. But what was singularly preposterous in this declaration was, its being designed to favour the Arminians, and yet prohibiting expressly any person, either in their sermons or writings, to put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the article, and ordering them, on the contrary, to take each article in its literal and grammatical sense, and to submit to it in the full and plain meaning thereof; for certainly, if the 17th article has a plain, literal, and grammatical meaning, it is a meaning unfavourable to Arminianism; and bishop Burnet was obliged afterwards to acknowledge, that without enlarging the sense of the articles, the Arminians could not subscribe them consistently with their opinions, nor without violating the demands of common ingenuity. See Burnet's remarks on the examination of his exposition, &c. p. 3.

This renders it probable, that the declaration now mentioned (in which we see no royal signature, no attestation of any officer of the crown, no date, in short no mark to shew where, when, or by what authority it was issued out) was not composed in the reign of king Charles. Bishop Burnet, indeed, was of opinion, that it was composed in that reign to support the Arminians, who, when they were charged with departing from the true sense of the articles, answered, "That they took the articles in their literal and grammatical sense, and therefore did not prevaricate." But this reasoning does not appear conclusive to the acute and learned author of the Confessional. He thinks it more probable that the declaration was composed, and first published, in the latter part of king James' reign; for though, says he, there be no evidence that James ever turned Arminian in principle, yet that was the party that stuck to him in his measures, and which it became necessary for him on that account to humour, and to render respectable in the eyes of the people by every expedient that

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which were zealously attached to the discipline and ecclesiastical polity of *Geneva*, and had shewn, on all occasions, the greatest reluctance against an episcopal government; and, lastly, he gave many, and very plain intimations, that he looked upon the Romish church, with all its errors as more pure, more holy, and preferable upon the whole, to those Protestant churches that were not subject to the jurisdiction of bishops. By these his unpopular sentiments and violent measures, Laud drew an odium on the king, on himself, and on the episcopal order in general. Hence, in the year 1644, he was brought before the public tribunals of justice, declared guilty of high treason, and condemned to lose his head on a scaffold; which sentence was accordingly executed.

After the death of Laud, the dissensions that had reigned for a long time between the king and parliament, grew still more violent, and arose at length, to so great a height, that they could not be extinguished but by the blood of that excellent prince. The great council of the nation, heated by the violent suggestions of the *Puritans*, and *Independents* [*n*], abolished episcopal government; condemned and abrogated every thing in the ecclesiastical establishment that was contrary to the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the church of *Geneva*: turned the vehemence of their opposition

that might not bring any reflection on his own consistency. "And whoever (continues this author) considers the quibbling and equivocal terms in which this instrument is drawn, will, I am persuaded, observe the distress of a man divided between his principles and his interests, that is, of a man exactly in the situation of king James I. in the three last years of his reign." It is likely then, that this declaration was only republished at the head of the articles, which were reprinted by the order of Charles I.

[*n*] The origin of this sect has been already mentioned.

opposition against the king himself, and having brought him into their power by the fate of arms, accused him of treason against the majesty of the nation; and in the year 1648, while the eyes of *Europe* were fixed with astonishment on this strange spectacle, caused his head to be struck off on a public scaffold. Such are the calamities that flow from religious zeal without knowledge, from that enthusiasm and bigotry that inspire a blind and immoderate attachment to the external unessential parts of religion, and to certain doctrines ill understood! These broils and tumults served also unhappily to confirm the truth of an observation often made, that all religious sects, while they are kept under and oppressed, are remarkable for inculcating the duties of moderation, forbearance, and charity towards those who dissent from them; but, as soon as the scenes of persecution are removed, and they, in their turn arrive at power and pre-eminence, they forget their own precepts and maxims, and leave both the recommendation and practice of charity to those that groan under their yoke. Such in reality, was the conduct and behaviour of the *Puritans* during their transitory exaltation; they shewed as little clemency and equity to the bishops and other patrons of episcopacy, as they had received from them when the reins of government were in their hands [o].

The Independents.

XXI. The *Independents*, who have been just mentioned among the promotors of civil discord in *England*, are generally represented by the British writers in a much worse light than the *Presbyterians* or Calvinists. They are commonly accused of various enormities, and are even charged with the crime of parricide, as having borne a principal

[o] Besides Clarendon and the other writers of English history already mentioned, see Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. and iii.

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principal part in the death of the king. But whoever will be at the pains of examining, with impartiality and attention, the writings of that sect, and their confession of faith, must soon perceive, that many crimes have been imputed to them without foundation, and will probably be induced to think, that the bold attempts of the civil *Independents (i. e.* of those warm republicans who were the declared enemies of monarchy, and wanted to extend the liberty of the people beyond all bounds of wisdom and prudence) have been unjustly laid to the charge of those *Independents*, whose principles were merely of a religious kind [*p*]. The religious *Independents* desire their

[*p*] The sect of the Independents is of recent date, and still subsists in *England;* there is, nevertheless, not one, either of the ancient or modern sects of Christians, that is less known, or has been more loaded with groundless aspersions and reproaches. The most eminent English writers, not only among the patrons of Episcopacy, but even among those very Presbyterians with whom they are now united, have thrown out against them the bitterest accusations and the severest invectives that the warmest indignation could invent. They have not only been represented as delirious, mad, fanatical, illiterate, factious, and ignorant both of natural and revealed religion, but also as abandoned to all kinds of wickedness and sedition, and as the only authors of the odious parricide committed on the person of Charles I. †. And as the authors who have given these representations, are considered by foreigners as the best and most authentic relaters of the transactions that have passed in their own country, and are therefore followed as the surest guides, the Independents appear almost every where, under the most unfavourable aspect. It must indeed be candidly acknowledged, that as every class and order of men consists of persons of very different characters and qualities,

† Durell, (whom nevertheless Lewis de Moulin, the most zealous defender of the Independents, commends on account of his ingenuity and candour), in his Historia Rituum Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, cap. i. p. 4. expresses himself thus: "Fateor, si atrocis illius Tragœdiæ tot actus fuerint, quot ludicrarum esse solent, postremum fere Independentium fuisse. —Adeo ut non acute magis, quam vere, dixerit L'Estrangius Noster: Regem primo a Presbyterianis interemtum, Carolum deiude ab independentibus interfectum.

their denomination from the following principle, which they held in common with the *Brownists*, qualities, so also the sect of Independents, has been dishonoured by several turbulent, factious, profligate, and flagitious members. But if it is a constant maxim with the wise and prudent, not to judge of the spirit and principles of a sect from the actions or expressions of a handful of its members, but from the manners, customs, opinions, and behaviour of the generality of those who compose it, from the writings and discourses of its learned men, and from its public and avowed forms of doctrine, and confessions of faith; then, I make no doubt, but that, by this rule of estimating matters, the Independents will appear to have been unjustly loaded with so many accusations and reproaches.

We shall take no notice of the invidious and severe animadversions that have been made upon this religious Community by Clarendon, Echard, Parker, and so many other writers. To set this whole matter in the clearest and most impartial light, we shall confine ourselves to the account of the Independents given by a writer, justly celebrated by the English themselves, and who, though a foreigner, is generally supposed to have had an accurate knowledge of the British nation, its history, its parties, its sects and revolutions. This writer is Rapin Thoyras, (who in the twenty-first book of his *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 514. edit. folio) represents the Independents under such horrid colours, that, were his portrait just, they would not deserve to enjoy the light of the sun, or to breathe the free air of Britain, much less to be treated with indulgence and esteem by those who have the cause of virtue at heart. Let us now examine the account which this illustrious historian gives of this sect. He declares, in the first place, that notwithstanding all the pains he had taken to trace out the true origin of it, his enquiries had been entirely fruitless: his words are, as translated by Mr. Tindal, "After all my pains I have not been able to discover, precisely, the first rise of the Independent sect or faction." It is very surprising to hear a man of learning, who had employed seventeen years in composing the History of *England*, and had admittance to so many rich and famous libraries, express his ignorance of a matter, about which it was so easy to acquire ample information. Had he only looked into the work of the learned Hornbeck, entitled, *Summa Controversiarum*, lib. x. p. 775. he would have found, in a moment, what he had been so long and so laboriously seeking in vain. Rapin proceeds to the doctrines and opinions of the Independents, and begins here, by a general declaration of their tendency to throw the nation into disorder and combustion; his words

Brownists, that every Christian congregation ought to be governed by its own laws, without depending

words are, "Thus much is certain, their principles were very proper to put the kingdom in a flame; and this they did effectually." What truth there is in this assertion, will be seen by what follows. Their sentiments concerning government were, if we are to believe this writer, of the most pernicious kind; since according to him, they wanted to overturn the monarchy, and to establish a democracy in its place; his words are, "With regard to the state they abhorred monarchy, and approved only a republican government." I will not pretend to deny, that there were among the Independents several persons that were no friends to a kingly government: persons of this kind were to be found among the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and all the other religious sects and communities that flourished in *England* during this tumultuous period; but I want to see it proved, in an evident and satisfactory manner, that these republican principles were embraced by all the Independents, and formed one of the distinguishing characteristics of that sect. There is, at least, no such thing to be found in their public writings. They declared, on the contrary, in a public memorial drawn up by them in the year 1647, that, as magistracy in general is the ordinance of God, "they do not disapprove of any form of civil government, but do freely acknowledge that, a kingly government, bounded by just and wholesome laws, is both allowed by God, and also a good accommodation unto men." I omit the mention of several other circumstances, which unite to prove that the Independents were far from looking with abhorrence on a monarchial government.

Their sentiments of religion, according to Rapin's account, were highly absurd, since he represents their principles as entirely opposite to those of all other religious communities: As to religion, says he, their principles were contrary to those of all the rest of the world." With respect to this accusation, it may be proper to observe, that there are extant two *Confessions of Faith*, one of the English Independents in *Holland*, and another drawn up by the principal members of that community in *England*. The former was composed by John Robinson, the founder of the sect, and was published at *Leyden*, in 4to, in the year 1619, under the following title; "Apologia pro exulibus Anglis, qui Brownistæ vulgo appelantur;" the latter appeared at *London*, for the first time, in the year 1658, and was thus entitled: "A declaration of the Faith and Order opened and practised in the Congregational churches in *England*, agreed upon, and consented unto, by their Elders and Messengers, in their meeting at the Savoy,

October

depending on the jurisdiction of bishops, or being subject to the authority of synods, presbyteries,

October 12. 1658. Hornbeck gave, in the year 1659, a Latin translation of this *Declaration*, and subjoined it to his *Epistolæ ad* Duræum *de Independentismo*. It appears evidently from these two public and authentic pieces, not to mention other writings of the *Independents*, that they differed from the *Presbyterians* or Calvinists in no single point of any consequence, except that of ecclesiastical government. To put this matter beyond all doubt, we have only to attend to the following passage in Robinson's *Apology for the English Exiles*, p. 7. 11. where that founder of the sect of the *Independents* expresses his own private sentiments, and those of his community, in the plainest manner: "Profitemur coram Deo et hominibus, adeo nobis convenire cum Ecclesiis Reformatis, Belgicis in re religionis, ut omnibus et singulis earundem Ecclesiarum fidei articulis, prout habentur in Harmonia Confessionum fidei, parati simus subscribere.--Ecclesias Reformatis pro veris et genuinis habemus, cum iisdem in sacris Dei communionem profitemur, et, quantum in nobis est, colimus." It appears evident from this declaration, that, instead of differing totally from all other Christian societies, it may rather be said of the *Independents*, that they were perfectly agreed with by far the greatest part of the Reformed churches. To shew, as he imagines, by a striking example the absurdity of their religion and worship, our eminent historian tells us, that they not only reject all kind of ecclesiastical government, but, moreover, allow all their members promiscuously, and without exception, to perform in public the pastoral functions, *i. e.* to preach, pray, and expound the Scriptures; his words are, "They were not only averse to episcopacy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy," (this charge is true, but it may equally be brought against the Presbyterians, Brownists, Anabaptists, and all the various sects of Non-conformists), "but they would not so much as endure ordinary ministers in the church. They maintained that every man might pray in public, exhort his brethren, and interpret the Scriptures according to the talents God had endowed him with.—So with them every one preached, prayed, admonished, interpreted the holy Scriptures without any other call than what he himself drew from his zeal and supposed gifts, and without any other authority than the approbation of his auditors." This whole charge is evidently false and groundless. The *Independents* have, and always have had, *fixed* and *regular* ministers *approved of* by their people: nor do they allow to teach in public every person who thinks himself qualified for that important office. The celebrated historian has here confounded the *Independents* with the *Brownists*, who, as is well

teries, or an ecclesiastical assembly composed of the deputies from different churches [*g*]. It is in

known, permitted all to pray and preach in public without distinction. We shall not enlarge upon the other mistakes he has fallen into on this subject; but only observe, that if so eminent a writer, and one so well acquainted with the English nation, has pronounced such an unjust sentence against this sect, we may the more easily excuse an inferior set of authors, who have loaded them with groundless accusations.

It will, however, be alleged, that, whatever may have been the religious sentiments and discipline of the *Independents*, innumerable testimonies concur in proving, that they were chargeable with the death of Charles I. and many will consider this single circumstance as a sufficient demonstration of the impiety and depravity of the whole sect. I am well aware indeed, that many of the most eminent and respectable English writers have given the *Independents* the denomination of *Regicides;* and if, by the term *Independents*, they mean those licentious republicans, whose dislike of a monarchial form of government carried them the most pernicious and extravagant lengths, I grant that this denomination is well applied. But if, by the term *Independents*, we are to understand a *religious* sect, the ancestors of those who still bear the same title in *England*, it appears very questionable to me, whether the unhappy fate of the worthy prince above mentioned ought to be imputed entirely to that set of men. They who affirm that the *Independents* were the only authors of the death of King Charles, must mean one of these two things, either that the *Regicides* were animated and set on by the seditious doctrines of that sect, and the violent suggestions of its members, or that all who were concerned in this atrocious deed were themselves *Independents*, zealously attached to the religious community now under consideration. Now it may be proved with the clearest evidence that neither of these was the case. There is nothing in the doctrines of this sect, so far as they are known to me, that seems in the least adapted to excite men to such a horrid deed; nor does it appear from the history of these times, that the *Independents* were a whit more exasperated against Charles, than were the *Presbyterians*. And as to the latter supposition, it is far from being true, that all those who were concerned in bringing this unfortunate prince to the scaffold were *Independents;* since we learn from the best English writers, and from the public declarations of Charles II. that this violent faction was composed of persons of different sects. That there were *Independents* among them may be easily conceived. After all, this matter will be best unravelled by the English writers

in this their notion of ecclesiastical government, that the difference between them and the *Presbyterians*, writers, who know best in what sense the term *Independents* is used, when it is applied to those who brought Charles I. to the block *.

On inquiring, with particular attention, into the causes of that *odium* that has been cast upon the *Independents*, and of the heavy accusations and severe invectives with which they have been loaded, I was more peculiarly struck with the three following considerations, which will perhaps furnish a satisfactory account of this matter. In the *first place*, the denomination of *Independents* is ambiguous, and is not peculiar to any one distinct order of men. For, not to enumerate the other notions that have been annexed to this term, it is sufficient to observe, that it is used sometimes by the English writers to denote those who aim at the establishment of a purely *democratical*, or popular government, in which the body of the people is clothed with the supreme dominion. Such a faction there was in England, composed, in a great measure, of persons of an enthusiastical character and complexion: and to it, no doubt,

☞ * Dr. Mosheim's defence of the *Independents* is certainly specious; but he has not sufficiently distinguished the times; and he has, perhaps, in defending them, strained too far that equitable principle, that we must not impute to a sect any principles that are not contained in, or deducible from their religious system. This maxim does not entirely answer here the purpose for which it is applied. The religious system of a sect may be in itself pacific and innocent, while, at the same time certain incidental circumstances, or certain associations of ideas, may render that sect more turbulent and restless than others, or at least involve it in political factions and broils. Such perhaps was the case of the *Independents* at certain periods of time, and more especially at the period now under consideration. When we consider their religious form of government, we shall see evidently, that a principle of analogy (which influences the sentiments and imagination of men much more than is generally supposed) must naturally have led the greatest part of them to republican notions of civil government; and it is further to be observed, that from a republican government, they must have expected much more protection, and favour than from a kingly one. When these two things are considered, together with their situation under the reign of Charles I. when the government was unhinged, when things were in confusion, when the minds of men were suspended upon the issue of the national troubles, and when the eager spirit of party, nourished by hope, made each faction expect that the chaos would end in some settled system, favourable to their respective views, sentiments, and passions; this will engage us to think, that the *Independents* at that time, may have been much more tumultuous and republican than the sect that bears that denomination in our times. The reader that would form just ideas of the matter of fact, must examine the relations given by the writers of both parties. See particularly Clarendon's *History of his own Life*.—Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iij. p. 547, &c.—Hume's *History of England*, vol. v. Edit. in Quarto.—Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 46, 47.

terians principally consists; for their religious doctrines, except in some points of very little moment, doubt, we are to ascribe those scenes of sedition and misery, whose effects are still lamented with justice. The violence and folly that dishonoured the proceedings of this tumultuous faction have been, if I am not mistaken, too rashly imputed to the *religious Independents* now under consideration, who, with all their defects, were a much better set of men than the persons now mentioned. It may be observed further, *secondly*, that almost all the religious sects, which divided the English nation in the reign of Charles I. and more especially under the administration of Cromwell, assumed the denomination of *Independents*, in order to screen themselves from the reproaches of the public, and to share a part of that popular esteem that the *true* and *genuine Independents* had acquired, on account of the regularity of their lives, and the sanctity of their manners. This is confirmed, among other testimonies, by the following passage of a letter from Toland to Le Clerc. "Au commencement tous les sectaires se disoient Independans, parce que ces derniers etoient fort honores du peuple a cause de leur piete." See Le Clerc's *Biblioth. Univers. et Histor.* tom. xxiii. p. ii. p. 506. As this title was of a very extensive signification, and of great latitude, it might thus easily happen, that all the enormities of the various sects who sheltered themselves under it, and several of whom were of but short duration, might unluckily be laid to the charge of the true *Independents*. But it must be particularly remarked, in the *third place*, that the usurper Cromwell preferred the *Independents* before all other religious communities. He looked with an equal eye of suspicion and fear, upon the *Presbyterian synods* and the *Episcopal visitations*; every thing that looked like an extensive authority, whether it was of a civil or religious nature, excited uneasy apprehensions in the breast of the tyrant: but, in the limited and simple form of ecclesiastical discipline that was adopted by the *Independents*, he saw nothing that was adapted to alarm his fears. This circumstance was sufficient to render the *Independents* odious in the eyes of many, who would be naturally disposed to extend their abhorrence of Cromwell to those who were the objects of his favour and protection.

[*q*] The *Independents* were undoubtedly so called from their maintaining that all Christian congregations were so many *Independent* religious societies, that had a right to be governed by their own laws, without being subject to any further, or foreign jurisdiction. Robinson, the founder of the sect, makes express use of this term in explaining his doctrine relating to ecclesiastical government; "Cætum quem libet particularem (says he,

ment, are almost entirely the same with those that are adopted by the church of *Geneva*. The founder of this sect was John Robinson, a man who had much of the solemn piety of the times, and was master of a congregation of *Brownists* that had settled at *Leyden*. This well-meaning man, perceiving the defects that reigned in the discipline of Brown, and in the spirit and temper of his followers, employed his zeal and diligence in correcting them, and in modelling anew the society in such a manner as to render it less odious to his adversaries, and less liable to the just cen-

 sure

he, in his *Apologia*, cap. v. p. 22.) esse totam, integram, et per fectam ecclesiam ex suis partibus constantem, immediate et Independenter (quod alias ecclesias) sub ipso Christo." It may possibly have been from this very passage that the title of *Independents* was originally derived. The disciples of Robinson did not reject it; nor indeed is there any thing shocking in the title, when it is understood in a manner conformable to the sentiments of those to whom it is applied. It was certainly utterly unknown in *England* before the year 1640; at least it is not once mentioned in the ecclesiastical canons and constitutions that were drawn up, during that year, in the synods or visitations held by the archbishops of *Canterbury*, *York*, and other prelates, in which canons all the various sects that then subsisted in *England*, are particularly mentioned. See Wilkins' *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ*, vol. iv. cap. v. p. 548. where are the "constitutions and canons ecclesiastical treated upon by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the bishops and clergy in their several synods." An. MDCXL. It is true, that not long after this period, and more particularly from the year 1642, we find this denomination very frequently in the English *annals*. The English *Independents* were so far from being displeased with it, that they assumed it publicly in a piece they published in their own defence at *London*, in the year 1644, under the following title: *Apologetical Narration of the Independents*. But when, in process of time, a great variety of sects, as has been already observed, sheltered themselves under the cover of this extensive denomination, and even seditious subjects, that aimed at nothing less than the death of their sovereign, and the destruction of the government, employed it as a mask to hide their deformity, then the true and genuine *Independents* renounced this title, and substituted another less odious in its place, calling themselves *Congregational Brethren*, and their religious assemblies *Congregational Churches*.

sure of those true Christians, who looked upon charity as the end of the commandment. The *Independents*, accordingly, were much more commendable than the *Brownists* in two respects. They surpassed them both in the moderation of their sentiments, and the order of their discipline. They did not, like Brown, pour forth bitter and uncharitable invectives against the churches that were governed by rules entirely different from theirs, nor pronounce them, on that account, unworthy of the Christian name. On the contrary, though they considered their own form of ecclesiastical government as of divine institution, and as originally introduced by the authority of the apostles, nay, by the apostles themselves, yet they had candour and charity enough to acknowledge, that true religion and solid piety might flourish in those communities, which were under the jurisdiction of bishops, or the government of synods and presbyteries. They were also much more attentive than the *Brownists* in keeping on foot a regular ministry in their communities; for while the latter allowed promiscuously all ranks and orders of men to teach in public, and to perform the other pastoral functions, the *Independents* had, and still have, a certain number of ministers, chosen respectively by the congregations where they are fixed; nor is any person among them permitted to speak in public, before he has submitted to a proper examination of his capacity and talents, and been approved of by the heads of the congregation. This community, which was originally formed in *Holland*, in the year 1610, made at first but a very small progress in *England* [*qq*]; it worked its way slowly, and in a clandestine manner; and its members concealed their

[*qq*] In the year 1616, Mr. Jacob, who had adopted the religious sentiments of Robinson, set up the first *Independent* or *Congregational* church in *England*.

their principles from public view, to avoid the penal laws that had been enacted against *Nonconformists*. But during the reign of Charles I. when, amidst the shocks of civil and religious discord, the authority of the bishops and the cause of episcopacy began to decline, and more particularly about the year 1640, the *Independents* grew more courageous, and came forth, with an air of resolution and confidence, to public view. After this period, their affairs took a prosperous turn; and, in a little time, they became so considerable, both by their numbers, and by the reputation they acquired, that they vied in point of pre-eminence and credit, not only with the bishops, but also with the *Presbyterians*, though at this time in the very zenith of their power. This rapid progress of the *Independents* was, no doubt, owing to a variety of causes; among which justice obliges us to reckon the learning of their teachers, and the regularity and sanctity of their manners [*r*]. During the administration of Cromwell, whose peculiar protection and patronage they enjoyed on more than one account, their credit arose to the greatest height, and their influence and reputation were universal; but after the restoration of Charles II. their cause declined, and they fell back gradually into their primitive obscurity. The sect, indeed, still subsisted; but in such a state of dejection and weakness, as engaged them in the year 1691, under the reign of King William, to enter into an association with the *Presbyterians* residing in and about *London*, under certain heads of agreement, that tended to the maintenance of their respective institutions [*s*].

XXII.

[*r*] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 107. 293. vol. viii. p. 141, 145, 276, 303, 437, 549. See also a German work, entitled, *Englische Reformations-Historie*, by Anthony William Bohm, p. 794.

[*s*] From this time they were called *United Brethren*. The heads of agreement that formed and cemented this union are

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XXII. While Oliver Cromwell held the reins of government in *Great Britain*, all sects, even

The state of the church of *England* under Cromwell.

to be found in the second volume of Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, and they consist in Nine articles. The *first* relates to "Churches and Church Members," in which the United Ministers, *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, declare, among other things, "That each particular church had a right to choose their own officers; and being furnished with such as are duly qualified and ordained according to the Gospel rule, hath authority from Christ for exercising government, and enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself—That in the administration of church power, it belongs to the pastors and other elders of every particular church (if such there be) to rule and govern; and to the brotherhood to consent, according to the rule of the Gospel." In this both Presbyterians and Independents depart from the primitive principles of their respective institutions. Article II. relates to "the Ministry," which they grant to have been instituted by Jesus Christ, "for the gathering, guiding, edifying, and governing of his church;" in this article it is further observed, "that ministers ought to be endued with competent learning, sound judgment, and solid piety; that none are to be ordained to the work of the ministry, but such as are chosen and called thereunto by a particular church;" that, in such a weighty matter, "it is ordinarily requisite that every such church consult and advise with the pastors of neighbouring congregations; and that, after such advice, the person thus consulted about, being chosen by the brotherhood of that particular church, be duly ordained and set apart to his office over them." Article III. relates to "Censures," and prescribes, first, the *admonishing*, and, if this prove ineffectual, the *excommunication* of offending and scandalous members, to be performed by the pastors, with the consent of the brethren. Article IV. concerning the "Communion of churches," lays it down as a principle, that there is no subordination between particular churches; that they are all equal, and consequently independent; that the pastors, however, of these churches "ought to have frequent meetings together, that, by mutual advice, support, encouragement, and brotherly intercourse, they strengthen the hearts and hands of each other in the ways of the Lord." In Article V. which relates to "Deacons and Ruling Elders," the United Brethren acknowledge, that "the office of a deacon is of divine appointment, and that it belongs to their office to receive, lay out, and distribute, the stock of the church to its proper uses:" and as there are different sentiments about the office of Ruling Elders, who labour not in word and doctrine, they agree

even those that dishonoured true religion in the most shocking manner by their fanaticism or their ignorance, enjoyed a full and unbounded liberty of professing publicly their respective doctrines. The *Episcopalians* alone were excepted from this toleration, and received the most severe and iniquitous treatment. The bishops were deprived of their dignities and revenues, and felt the heavy hand of oppression in a particular manner. But, though the toleration extended to all other sects and religious communities, yet the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* were treated with peculiar marks of distinction and favour. Cromwell, though attached to no one particular sect, gave the latter extraordinary proofs of his good-will, and augmented their credit and authority, as this seemed the easiest and least exasperating method of setting bounds to the ambition of the *Presbyterians*, who aimed at a very high degree of ecclesiastical

agree that this difference makes no breach among them. In Article VI. concerning "Occasional Meetings of Ministers," &c. the brethren agree, that it is needful, in weighty and difficult cases, that the ministers of several churches meet together, "in order to be consulted and advised with about such matters;" and that particular churches "ought to have a reverential regard to their judgment so given, and not dissent therefrom without apparent grounds from the word of God." Article VII. which relates to "the Demeanour of the Brethren towards the civil magistrate," prescribes obedience to and prayers for God's protection and blessing upon their rulers. In article VIII. which relates to a "Confession of Faith," the brethren esteem it sufficient, that a church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice, and "own either the doctrinal part of the articles of the Church of England," or the *Westminster* Confession and Catechisms drawn up by the *Presbyterians*, or the Confession of the *Congregational Brethren (i. e.* the *Independents)*, to be agreeable to the said rule. Article IX. which concerns the "duty and deportment of the Brethren towards those that are not in communion with them," inculcates charity and moderation. It appears from these articles, that the *Independents* were led by a kind of necessity to adopt, in many things, the sentiments of the *Presbyterians*

siastical power [*t*]. It was during this period of religious anarchy, that the *Fifth-monarchy-men* arose, a set of wrong-headed and turbulent enthusiasts, who expected Christ's sudden appearance upon earth to establish a new kingdom; and, acting in consequence of this illusion, aimed at the subversion of all human government, and were for turning all things into the most deplorable confusion [*u*]. It was at this time also, that the *Quakers*, of whom we propose to give a more particular account [*w*], and the hot-headed *Anabaptists* [*x*], propagated, without restraint, their visionary doctrine. It must likewise be observed, that the *Deists*, headed by Sidney, Neville, Martin, and Harrington, appeared with impunity, and promoted a kind of religion, which consisted in a few plain

terians, and to depart thus far from the original principles of their sect.

☞ [*t*] A little after Cromwell's elevation, it was resolved by the parliament, at the conclusion of a debate concerning public worship and church-government, that the *Presbyterian* government should be the established government. The *Independents* were not, as yet, agreed upon any standard of faith and discipline; and it was only a little before Cromwell's death that they held a synod, by his permission, in order to publish to the world an *uniform* account of their doctrine and principles.

[*u*] See Burnet's *History of his own Times*, tom. i. p. 67.

[*w*] See in Vol. V. *The History of the Quakers.*

☞ [*x*] We are not to imagine, by the term hot-headed *(furiosi)*, that the *Anabaptists* resembled the furious fanatics of that name that formerly excited such dreadful tumults in *Germany*, and more especially at *Munster*. This was by no means the case; the English Anabaptists differed from their Protestant brethren about the *subject* and *mode* of baptism alone; confining the former to *grown Christians*, and the latter to *immersion*, or dipping. They were divided into *Generals* and *Particulars*, from their different sentiments upon the Arminian controversy. The latter, who were so called from their belief of the doctrines of *Particular Election, Redemption*, &c. were strict Calvinists, who separated from the *Independent* congregation at *Leyden*, in the year 1638. Their confession was composed with a remarkable spirit of modesty and charity. Their preachers were generally illiterate, and were eager

plain precepts, drawn from the dictates of natural reason [*y*].

The English Antinomians.

XXIII. Among the various religious factions that sprung up in *England* during this period of confusion and anarchy, we may reckon a certain sect of *Presbyterians*, who were called by their adversaries *Antinomians*, or enemies of the law, and still subsist even in our times. The *Antinomians* are a more rigid kind of Calvinists, who pervert Calvin's doctrine of absolute decrees to the worst purposes, by drawing from it conclusions highly detrimental to the interests of true religion and virtue. Such is the judgment that the other Presbyterian communities form of this perverse and extravagant sect [*z*]. Several of the *Antinomians* (for they are not all precisely of the same mind) look upon it as unnecessary for Christian ministers to exhort their flock to a virtuous practice, and a pious obedience to the divine law, "since they whom God has *elected* to salvation, "by an eternal and immutable decree, will, by "the *irresistible* impulse of divine grace, be led "to the practice of piety and virtue; while those "who are doomed by a divine decree to eternal "punishments, will never be engaged, by any ex-"hortations or admonitions, how affecting soever "they may be, to a virtuous course; nor have they "it in their power to obey the divine law, when "the succours of divine grace are withheld from "them." From these principles they concluded, that,

eager in making proselytes of all that would submit to their *immersion*, without a due regard to their religious principles, or their moral characters. The writers of these times represent them as tinctured with a kind of enthusiastic fury against all that opposed them. There were, nevertheless, among them some learned and pious persons, who disapproved highly of all violent and uncharitable proceedings.

[*y*] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 87.

[*z*] See Toland's Letters to Le Clerc, in the periodical work of the latter, entitled *Bibliotheque Universelle et Historique*, tom. xxii. p. 595.—As also Hornbeck, *Summa Controversiarum*, p. 800. 812.

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that the ministers of the Gospel discharged sufficiently their pastoral functions, when they inculcated the necessity of *faith in Christ*, and proclaimed the blessings of the new covenant to their people. Another, and a still more hideous form of *Antinomianism*, is that which is exhibited in the opinions of other doctors of that sect [*a*], who maintain. "That as the *elect* cannot fall from "grace, nor forfeit the divine favour, so it fol- "lows, that the wicked actions they commit, "and the violations of the divine law with which "they are chargeable, are not *really sinful*, nor "are to be considered as instances of their de- "parting from the law of God; and that, conse- "quently, they have no occasion either to con- "fess their sins, or to break them off by repent- "ance. Thus adultery, for example, in one of "the *elect*, though it appear *sinful* in the sight of "men, and be considered universally as an enor- "mous violation of the divine law, yet it is not a "*sin* in the sight of God, because it is one of the "essential and distinctive characters of the elect, "that *they cannot do any thing which is either dis- "pleasing to God, or prohibited by the law* [*b*]."

Latitudinarians.

XXIV. The public calamities, that flowed from these vehement and uncharitable disputes about religion, afflicted all wise and good men, and engaged several who were not less eminent for

☞ [*a*] This second *Antinomian* hypothesis has certainly a still more odious aspect than the first; and it is therefore surprising that our author should use, in the original, these terms: *Hi tantum statuunt, Electos*, &c.

[*b*] There is an account of the other tenets of the *Antinomians*, and of the modern disputes that were occasioned by the publication of the Posthumous Works of Crisp, a flaming doctor of that extravagant and pernicious sect, given by Pierre Francois, le Courayer in his *Examen des defauts Theologiques*, tom. ii. p. 198. Baxter and Tillotson distinguished themselves by their zeal against the *Antinomians*; and they were also completely refuted by Dr. Williams, in his famous book, entitled, *Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated*, 8vo. ☞ I have been

for their piety than for their moderation and wisdom to seek after some method of uniting such of the contending parties as were capable of listening to the dictates of charity and reason, or at least of calming their animosities, and persuading them to mutual forbearance. These pacific doctors offered themselves as mediators between the more violent *Episcopalians* on the one hand, and the more rigid *Presbyterians* and *Independents* on the other; and hoped that, when their differences were accommodated, the lesser factions would fall of themselves. The contests that reigned between the former turned partly on the forms of church government and public worship, and partly on certain religious tenets, more especially those that were debated between the Arminians and Calvinists. To lessen the breach that kept these two great communities at such a distance from each other, the arbitrators, already mentioned, endeavoured to draw them out of their narrow enclosures, to render their charity more extensive, and widen the paths of salvation, which bigotry and party-rage had been labouring to render inaccessible to many good Christians. This noble and truly evangelical method of proceeding procured to its authors the denomination of *Latitudinarians* [c]. Their views, indeed, were generous and extensive. They were zealously attached to the forms of ecclesiastical government and worship that were established in the church of *England*, and they recommended episcopacy with all the strength and power of their eloquence; but they did not go so far as to look upon it as of *divine institution*, or as absolutely and indispensably

been informed, since the first edition of this history was published, that the book, entitled, *Examen des defauts Theologiques*, which our author supposes to have been written by Dr. Courayer, is the production of another pen.

[c] See Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. i. book ii. p. 188.

indispensably necessary to the constitution of a Christian church; and hence they maintained, that those who followed other forms of government and worship, were not, on that account, to be excluded from their communion, or to forfeit the title of brethren. As to the doctrinal part of religion, they took the system of the famous Episcopius for their model; and, like him, reduced the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, *(i. e.)* those doctrines, the belief of which is necessary to salvation, to a few points. By this manner of proceeding they shewed, that neither the *Episcopalians*, who, generally speaking, embraced the sentiments of the Arminians, nor the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, who as generally adopted the doctrine of Calvin, had any reason to oppose each other with such animosity and bitterness, since the subjects of their debates were matters of an indifferent nature, with respect to salvation, and might be variously explained and understood, without any prejudice to their eternal interests. The chief leaders of these Latitudinarians were Hales and Chillingworth whose names are still pronounced in *England* with that veneration that is due to distinguished wisdom and rational piety [*d*]. The respectable names of More, Cudworth,

[*d*] The life of the ingenious and worthy Mr. Hales was composed in English by M. Des Maizeaux, and published in 8vo. at *London* in the year 1719: it was considerably augmented in the Latin translation of it, which I prefixed to the account of the synod of *Dort*, drawn from the letters of that great man, and published at *Hamburgh*, in 1724. A life of Mr. Hales, written in French, is to be found in the first volume of the French translation of Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants*, &c.—The life of Chillingworth also was drawn up by Des Maizeaux in English: and a French translation of it appeared, in the year 1730, at the head of the excellent book now mentioned, which was translated into that language, and published at *Amsterdam*, in three volumes 8vo. in the year 1730. Those who are desirous of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the doctrines, government, laws, and present state

Cudworth, Gale, Whichcot, and Tillotson, add a high degree of lustre to this eminent list. The undertaking of these great men, was indeed bold and perilous; and it drew upon them much opposition, and many bitter reproaches. They received, as the first fruits of their charitable zeal, the odious appellations of Atheists, Deists, and Socinians, both from the Roman Catholics and the more rigid of the contending Protestant parties; but upon the restoration of King Charles II. they were raised to the first dignities of the church, and were deservedly held in universal esteem. It is also well known, that, even at this present time, the church of *England* is chiefly governed by *Latitudinarians* of this kind, though there be among both bishops and clergy, from time to time, ecclesiastics who breathe the narrow and despotic spirit of Laud, and who, in the language of faction, are called *High-churchmen*, or *Church-tories* [*e*].

The state of the church of *England* under Charles II. and his successors.

XXV. No sooner was Charles II. re-established on the throne of his ancestors, than the ancient forms of ecclesiastical government and public worship were restored with him; and the bishops reinstated in their dignities and honours. The *Non-conformists* hoped, that *they* should be allowed to share some part of the honours and revenues of the church; but their expectations were totally disappointed, and the face of affairs changed very suddenly with respect to them. For Charles subjected to the government of bishops the churches of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, the former of which was peculiarly attached to the ecclesiastical discipline

state of the church of *England*, will do well to read the history of these two men; and more especially to peruse Chillingworth's admirable book already mentioned, I mean, *The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation.*

[*e*] See Rapin's *Dissertation on the Whigs and Tories.* ☞ See an admirable defence of the *Latitudinarian* divines, in a book entitled,

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discipline and polity of *Geneva;* and, in the year 1662, a public law was enacted, by which all who refused to observe the rites, and subscribe the doctrines of the church of *England*, were entirely excluded from its communion [*f*]. From this period until the reign of King William III. the *Non-conformists* were in a precarious and changing situation, sometimes involved in calamity and trouble, at others enjoying some intervals of tranquillity and certain gleams of hope, according to the varying spirit of the court and ministry, but never entirely free from perplexities and fears [*g*]. But, in the year 1689, their affairs took a favourable turn, when a bill for the *toleration* of all Protestant dissenters from the church of *England*, except the Socinians, passed in parliament almost without opposition, and delivered them from the penal laws to which they had been subjected by the *Act of Uniformity*, and other acts passed under the House of Stuart [*h*]. Nor did the

entitled, *The Principles and Practices of certain moderate Divines of the Church of England (greatly misunderstodd) truly represented and defended,* London, 1670, in 8vo. This book was written by Dr. Fowler, afterwards bishop of *Gloucester.* N.

☞ [*f*] This was the famous *Act of Uniformity,* in consequence of which the validity of Presbyterian ordination was renounced; the ministrations of the foreign churches disowned; the terms of conformity rendered more difficult, and raised higher than before the civil wars; and by which (contrary to the manner of proceeding in the times of Elizabeth and Cromwell, who both reserved for the subsistence of each ejected clergyman a fifth part of his benefice) no provision was made for those who should be deprived of their livings. See Wilkins' *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ,* tom. iv. p. 573. —Burnet's *History of his own Times,* vol. ii. p. 190, &c. Neal's *History of the Puritans,* tom. iv. p. 358.

[*g*] See the whole fourth volume of Neal's *History of the Puritans.*

[*h*] This was called the *Toleration Act,* and it may be seen at length in the *Appendix,* subjoined to the fourth volume of Neal's *History of the Puritans.* ☞ It is entitled, *An act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws.* In this bill

the Protestant dissenters in *England* enjoy alone, the benefits of this act; for it extended also to the Scots church, which was permitted thereby to follow the ecclesiastical discipline of *Geneva*, and was delivered from the jurisdiction of bishops, and from the forms of worship that were annexed to episcopacy. It is from this period that the Nonconformists date the liberty and tranquillity they have long been blessed with, and still enjoy; but it is also observable, that it is to the transactions that were carried on during this period, in favour of religious liberty, that we must chiefly impute the multitude of religious sects and factions, that start up from time to time in that free and happy island, and involve its inhabitants in the perplexities of religious division and controversy [*i*].

The High church and Non-jurors.

XXVI. In the reign of King William, and in the year 1689, the divisions among the friends of episcopacy ran high and terminated in that famous schism in the church of *England*, which has never hitherto been entirely healed. Sancroft, archbishop of *Canterbury*, and seven of the other bishops [*ii*], all of whom were eminently distinguished both by their learning and their virtue, looked upon it as unlawful to take the oaths of allegiance to the new king, from a mistaken notion that James II. though banished from his

bill the *Corporation* and *Test Acts* are omitted, and consequently still remain in force. The *Socinians* are also excepted; but provision is made for Quakers, upon their making a solemn declaration, instead of taking the oaths to the government. This act excuses Protestant dissenters from the penalties of the laws therein mentioned, provided they take the oaths to the government, and subscribe ths Doctrinal Articles of the Church of England.

[*i*] Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 23.

☞ [*ii*] The other Non-juring bishops were, Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Norwich; Dr. Turner, of Ely; Dr. Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Dr. Frampton, of Gloucestor; Dr. Thomas, of Worcester; Dr. Lake, of Chichester; Dr. White, bishop of Peterborough.

dominions, remained, nevertheless, their rightful sovereign. As these scruples were deeply rooted, and no arguments nor exhortations could engage these prelates to acknowledge the title of William III. to the crown of *Great Britain*, they were deprived of their ecclesiastical dignities, and their sees were filled by other men of eminent merit [*iii*]. The deposed bishops and clergy formed a new episcopal church, which differed, in certain points of doctrine, and certain circumstances of public worship, from the established church of *England*. This new religious community were denominated *Non-jurors*, on account of their refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and were also called the *High-church*, on account of the high notions they entertained of the dignity and power of the church, and the extent they gave to its prerogatives and jurisdiction. Those, on the other hand, who disapproved of this schism, who distinguished themselves by their charity and moderation towards Dissenters, and were less ardent in extending the limits of ecclesiastical authority, were denominated *Low-churchmen* [*k*]. The bishops who were deprived of their ecclesiastical dignities, and those who embarked in their cause,

☞ [*iii*] These were Tillotson, Moore, Patrick, Kidder, Fowler, and Cumberland, names that will be ever pronounced with veneration by such as are capable of esteeming solid, well employed learning and genuine piety, and that will always shine among the brightest ornaments of the church of England.

[*k*] The denomination of High-church is given certainly, with great propiety to the Non-jurors, who have very proud notions of church-power; but it is commonly used in a more extensive signification, and is applied to all those who, though far from being Non-jurors, or otherwise disaffected to the present happy establishment, yet from pompous and ambitious conceptions of the authority and jurisdiction of the church, and would raise it to an absolute independence on all human power. Many such are to be found even among those who go under the general denomination of the Low-church party.

cause, maintained openly, that the church was independent on the jurisdiction of king and parliament, subject to the authority of God alone, and empowered to govern itself by its own laws; that, of consequence, the sentence pronounced against these prelates by the great council of the nation was destitute both of justice and validity; and that it was only by the decree of an ecclesiastical council that a bishop could be deposed. This high notion of the authority and prerogatives of the church was maintained and propagated, with peculiar zeal, by the famous Henry Dodwell, who led the way in this important cause, and who, by his example and abilities, formed a considerable number of champions for its defence; hence arose a very nice and intricate controversy, concerning the nature, privileges, and authority of the church, which has not yet been brought to a satisfactory conclusion [*l*].

XXVII. The

☞ [*l*] Dodwell himself was deprived of his professorship of history, for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance to king William and queen Mary: and this circumstance, no doubt, augmented the zeal with which he interested himself in the defence of the bishops, who were suspended for the same reason. It was on this occasion that he published his "Cautionary Discourse of Schism, with a particular regard to the Case of the bishops who were suspended for refusing to take the new oath." This book was fully refuted by the learned Dr. Hody, in the year 1691, in a work entitled, "The unreasonableness of a separation from the new bishops; or, a Treatise out of Ecclesiastical History shewing, that although a bishop was unjustly deprived, neither he nor the church ever made a separation, if the successor was not a heretic;" translated out of an ancient Greek manuscript (viz. among the Broccian MSS), in the public library at Oxford. The learned author translated this work afterwards into Latin, and prefixed to it some pieces out of ecclesiastical antiquity, relative to the same subject. Dodwell published in 1692, an answer to it, which he called, "A vindication of the deprived bishops," &c. To which Dr. Hody replied, in a treatise, entitled, "The Case of the Sees vacant by an unjust or uncanonical Deprivation stated, in reply to the Vindication," &c. The contro-

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High church principles.

XXVII. The *Non-jurors*, or *High-churchmen*, who boast with peculiar ostentation of their orthodoxy, and treat the *Low-church* as unsound and schismatical, differ in several things from the members of the episcopal church, in its present establishment; but they are more particularly distinguished by the following principles: 1. *That it is never lawful for the people under any provocation or pretext whatever, to resist the sovereign.* This is called in *England passive obedience*, and is a doctrine warmly opposed by many, who think it both lawful and necessary, in certain circumstances, and in cases of an urgent and momentous nature, to resist the prince for the happiness of the people. They maintain further, 2. *That the hereditary succession to the throne is of divine institution, and therefore can never be interrupted, suspended, or annulled, on any pretext.* 3. *That the church is subject to the jurisdiction, not of the civil magistrate, but of God alone, particularly in matters of a religious nature.* 4. *That, consequently,* Sancroft, and the other bishops, *deposed by King* William III. *remained, notwithstanding their deposition,* True Bishops *to the day of their death; and that those who were substituted in their places were the unjust possessors of other men's property.* 5. *That these unjust possessors of ecclesiastical dignities were rebels against the state, as well as schismatics*

versy did not end here; and it was the hardest thing in the world to reduce Mr. Dodwell to silence. Accordingly he came forth a third time with his stiff and rigid polemics, and published, in 1695, his Defence of the Vindication of the deprived bishops. The preface which he designed to prefix to this work, was at first suppressed, but appeared afterwards under the following title: "The Doctrine of the Church of England concerning the independency of the Clergy on the lay-power, as to those rights of theirs which are purely spiritual, reconciled with our oath of supremacy and the lay-deprivation of the Popish bishops in the beginning of the Reformation." Several other pamphlets were published on the subject of this controversy.

matics in the church: and that all, therefore, who held communion with them were also chargeable with rebellion and schism. 6. *That this schism, which rents the church in pieces, is a most heinous sin, whose punishment must fall heavy upon all those who do not return sincerely to the true church, from which they have departed* [*m*].

Theological contests among the Dutch.

XXVIII. It will now be proper to change the scene, and to consider a little the state of the Reformed church in *Holland*. The Dutch Calvinists thought themselves happy after the defeat of the Arminians, and were flattering themselves with the agreeable prospect of enjoying long, in tranquillity and repose, the fruits of their victory, when new scenes of tumult arose from another quarter. Scarcely had they triumphed over the enemies of absolute predestination, when, by an ill hap, they became the prey of intestine disputes, and were divided among themselves in such a deplorable manner, that during the whole of this century, the United Provinces were a scene of contention, animosity, and strife. It is not necessary to mention all the subjects of these religious quarrels; nor indeed would this be an easy task. We shall therefore pass over in silence the debates of certain divines, who disputed about some particular, though not very momentous, points of doctrine and discipline; such as those of the famous Voet and the learned Des Marets; as also the disputes of Salmasius, Boxhorn, Voet, and others, concerning usury, ornaments in dress, stage-plays, and other minute points of morality; and the contests of Apollonius, Trigland, and Videlius, concerning the power of the magistrate in matters of religion and ecclesiastical

[*m*] See Whiston's Memoirs of his Life and Writings, vol. i. p. 30.—Hicke's Memoirs of the Life of John Kettlewell, printed at London in 1718.—*Nouveau Diction. Histor. et Critiq.* at the article Collier—Ph. Masson, *Histor. Critique de la Repub. des Lettres*, tom. xiii. p. 298.

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siastical discipline, which produced such a flaming division between Frederic Spanheim and John Vander Wayen. These and other debates of like nature and importance rather discover the sentiments of certain learned men, concerning some particular points of religion and morality, than exhibit a view of the true internal state of the Belgic church. The knowledge of this must be derived from those controversies alone in which the whole church, or at least the greatest part of its doctors, have been directly concerned.

The Cartesian and Cocceian controversies.

XXIX. Such were the controversies occasioned in *Holland* by the philosophy of Des Cartes, and the theological novelties of Cocceius. Hence arose the two powerful and numerous factions, distinguished by the denominations of *Cocceians* and *Voetians*, which still subsist, though their debates are now less violent, and their champions somewhat more moderate, than they were in former times. The Cocceian theology and the Cartesian philosophy have, indeed, no common features, nor any thing in their respective tenets and principles, that was in the least adapted to form a connexion between them; and, of consequence, the debates they excited, and the factions they produced, had no natural relation to, or dependence on, each other. It nevertheless so happened, that the respective votaries of these very different sciences formed themselves into one sect; so far at least, that those who chose Cocceius for their guide in theology, took Des Cartes for their master in philosophy [*n*]. This will appear less surprising when we consider, that the very same persons who opposed the progress of *Cartesianism* in *Holland* were the warm adversaries of the *Cocceian* theology; for this opposition, equally levelled

[*n*] See Frid. Spanhemii *Epistola de novissimis in Belgio dissidiis*, tom. ii. opp. p. 973.

levelled at these two great men and their respective systems, laid the *Cartesians* and *Cocceians* under a kind of necessity of uniting their force in order to defend their cause, in a more effectual manner against the formidable attacks of their numerous adversaries. The *Voetians* were so called from Gisbert Voet, a learned and eminent professor of divinity in the university of *Utrecht*, who first sounded the alarm of this theologico-philosophical war, and led on with zeal, the polemic legions against those who followed the standard of Des Cartes and Cocceius.

Cartesian controversy.

XXX. The Cartesian philosophy, at its first appearance, attracted the attention and esteem of many, and seemed more conformable to truth and nature, as well as more elegant and pleasing in its aspect, than the intricate labyrinths of Peripatetic wisdom. It was considered in this light in *Holland;* it however met there with a formidable adversary, in the year 1639, in the famous Voet, who taught theology at *Utrecht*, with the greatest reputation, and gave plain intimations of his looking upon Cartesianism as a system of impiety. Voet was a man of uncommon application and immense learning; he had made an extraordinary progress in all the various branches of erudition and philology; but he was not endowed with a large portion of that philosophical spirit, that judges with acuteness and precision of natural science and abstract truths. While Des Cartes resided at *Utrecht*, Voet found fault with many things in his philosophy; but what induced him to cast upon it the aspersion of impiety, was its being introduced by the following principles; "That the person who aspires after the "character of a true philosopher must begin by "doubting of all things, even of the existence "of a Supreme Being—that the nature or *essence* "of spirit, and even of God himself, consists in

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" *thought*—that space has no real existence, is no " more than the creature of fancy, and that, con- " sequently, *matter* is without bounds."

Des Cartes defended his principles with his usual acuteness, against the professor of *Utrecht*; his disciples and followers thought themselves obliged, on this occasion, to assist their master; and thus war was formally declared. On the other hand, Voet was not only seconded by those Belgic divines that were the most eminent, at this time for the extent of their learning and the soundness of their theology, such as Rivet, Des Marets, and Mastricht, but also was followed and applauded by the greatest part of the Dutch clergy [*o*]. While the flame of controversy burned with sufficient ardour, it was considerably augmented by the proceedings of certain Doctors, who applied the principles and tenets of Des Cartes to the illustration of theological truth. Hence, in the year 1656, an alarm was raised in the Dutch churches and schools of learning, and a resolution was taken in several of their ecclesiastical assemblies (commonly called *classes*), to make head against Cartesianism, and not to permit that imperious philosophy to make such encroachments upon the domain of theology. The States of *Holland* not only approved of this resolution, but also gave it new force and efficacy by a public edict, issued out the very same year, by which both the professors of philosophy and theology were forbidden either to explain the writings of Des Cartes to the youth under their care, or to illustrate the doctrines of the Gospel by the principles of philosophy. It was farther resolved in an assembly of the clergy, held at *Delft* the year

[*o*] See Baillet's *Vie die M. Des Cartes*, tom. ii. chap. v. p. 33.—Daniel, *Voyage du Monde de des Cartes*, tom. i. *de ses Oeuvres*, p. 84.

year following, that no candidate for holy orders should be received into the ministry before he made a solemn declaration, that he would neither promote the Cartesian philosophy, nor disfigure the divine simplicity of religion, by loading it with foreign ornaments. Laws of a like tenor were afterwards passed in the *United Provinces*, and in other countries [*p*]. But as there is in human nature a strange propensity to struggle against authority, and to pursue, with a peculiar degree of ardour, things that are forbidden, so it happened, that all these edicts proved insufficient to stop the progress of Cartesianism, which, at length, obtained a solid and permanent footing in the seminaries of learning, and was applied, both in the academies and pulpits, and sometimes indeed very preposterously, to explain the truths and precepts of Christianity. Hence it was, that the *United Provinces* were divided into the two great factions already mentioned; and that the whole remainder of this century was spent amidst their contentions and debates.

The sentiments of Cocceius concerning the Holy Scriptures.

XXXI. John Cocceius, a native of *Bremen*, and professor of divinity in the University of *Leyden*, might have certainly passed for a great man, had his vast erudition, his exuberant fancy, his ardent piety, and his uncommon application to the study of the Scriptures, been under the direction of a sound and solid judgment. This singular man introduced into theology a multitude of new tenets and strange notions, which had never before entered into the brain of any other mortal, or at least had never been heard of before his time: for, in the first place, as has been already

[*p*] Frid. Spanheim, *De novissimis in Belgio dissidiis*, tom. ii. opp. p. 959.—The reader may also consult the historians of this century, such as Arnold, Weismann, Jager, Caroli, and also Walchius' *Histor. Controvers. Germanic.* tom. iii.

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ready hinted, his manner of explaining the Holy Scriptures was totally different from that of Calvin and his followers. Departing entirely from the admirable simplicity that reigns in the commentaries of that great man, Cocceius represented the whole history of the Old Testament as a mirror, that held forth an accurate view of the transactions and events that were to happen in the church under the dispensation of the New Testament, and unto the end of the world. He even went so far, as to maintain, that the miracles, actions, and sufferings of Christ, and of his apostles, during the course of their ministry, were *types* and images of future events. He affirmed, that by far the greatest part of the ancient prophecies foretold Christ's ministry and mediation, and the rise, progress, and revolutions of the church, not only under the figure of persons and *transactions*, but in a literal manner, and by the very sense of the *words* used in these predictions. And he completed the extravagance of this chimerical system, by turning, with wonderful art and dexterity, into holy riddles and typical predictions, even those passages of the Old Testament that seemed designed for no other purpose than to celebrate the praises of the Deity, or to convey some religious truth, or to inculcate some rule of practice. In order to give an air of solidity and plausibility to these odd notions, he first laid it down as a fundamental rule of interpretation, "That "the *words* and *phrases* of Scripture are to be un- "derstood *in every sense* of which they are *suscep-* "*tible;* or, in other words, that they signify, *in* "*effect*, every thing that they *can* possibly signify;" a rule this, which, when followed by a man who had more imagination than judgment, could not fail to produce very extraordinary comments on the sacred writings. After having laid down this singular rule of interpretation, he divided the whole

whole history of the church into *seven periods*, conformable to the seven *trumpets* and *seals* mentioned in the *Revelations*.

Concerning the doctrinal part of theology.

XXXII. One of the great designs formed by Cocceius, was that of separating theology from philosophy, and of confining the Christian doctors, in their explications of the former, to the words and phrases of the Holy Scriptures. Hence it was, that, finding in the language of the sacred writers, the Gospel dispensation represented under the image of a *Covenant* made between God and man, he looked upon the use of this image as admirably adapted to exhibit a complete and well connected system of religious truth. But while he was labouring this point, and endeavouring to accommodate the circumstances and characters of human contracts to the dispensations of divine wisdom, which they represent in such an inaccurate and imperfect manner, he fell imprudently into some erroneous notions. Such was his opinion concerning the covenant made between God and the Jewish nation by the ministry and the mediation of Moses, "which he affirmed to be "of the same nature with the new Covenant ob- "tained by the mediation of Jesus Christ." In consequence of this general principle, he maintained, "That the *Ten Commandments* were pro- "mulgated by Moses not as a *rule of obedience*, "but as a *representation of the Covenant of Grace* —that when the Jews had provoked the Deity, "by their various transgressions, particularly by "the worship of the golden calf, the severe and "servile yoke of the ceremonial law was added "to the *decalogue*, as a punishment inflicted on "them by the Supreme Being in his righteous "displeasure—that this yoke, which was painful "in itself, became doubly so on account of its "*typical* signification; since it admonished the "Israelites from day to day, of the imperfection "and

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" and uncertainty of their state, filled them with " anxiety, and was a standing and perpetual " proof that they had merited the displeasure of " God, and could not expect, before the coming " of the Messiah, the entire remission of their " transgressions and iniquities—that, indeed, good " men, even under the Mosaic dispensation, " were immediately after death made partakers " of everlasting happiness and glory; but that " they were, nevertheless, during the whole " course of their lives, far removed from that " firm hope and *assurance* of salvation, which re- " joices the faithful under the dispensation of the " Gospel—and that their anxiety flowed natu- " rally from this consideration, that their sins, " though they remained unpunished, were not " pardoned, because Christ, had not as yet, of- " fered himself up a sacrifice to the Father to make " an entire atonement for them." These are the principal lines that distinguish the *Cocceian* from other systems of theology; it is attended, indeed, with other peculiarities; but we shall pass them over in silence, as of little moment, and unworthy of notice. These notions were warmly opposed by the same persons that declared war against the Cartesian philosophy; and the contest was carried on for many years with various success. But, in the issue, the doctrines of Cocceius, like those of Des Cartes, stood their ground; and neither the dexterity nor vehemence of his adversaries could exclude his disciples from the public seminaries of learning, or hinder them from propagating, with surprising success and rapidity, the tenets of their master in *Germany* and *Switzerland* [*q*].

XXXII. The

[*q*] See Baillet's *Vie de M. Des Cartes*, tom. ii. p. 33.—Daniel, *Voyage du Monde de Des Cartes.*—Val Alberti Διπλῆν καππάδ', *Cartesianismus et Cocceianismus descripti et refutati.* Lips. 1678, in 4to.

XXXIII. The other controversies, that divided the Belgic church during this century, all arose from the immoderate propensity that certain doctors, discovered towards an alliance between the Cartesian philosophy and their theological system. This will appear, with the utmost evidence, from the debates excited by Roell and Becker, which surpassed all the others, both by the importance of their subjects and by the noise they made in the world. About the year 1686, certain Cartesian doctors of divinity headed by the ingenious Herman Alexander Roell, professor of theology in the University of *Francker*, seemed to attribute to the dictates of reason a more extensive authority in religious matters, than they had hitherto been possessed of. The controversy occasioned by this innovation was reducible to the two following questions: 1. "Whether "the divine origin and authority of the Holy "Scriptures can be demonstrated by reason alone, "or whether an inward testimony of the Holy "Spirit in the hearts of Christians be necessary in "order to the firm belief of this fundamental "point? 2. Whether the sacred writings pro- "pose to us, as an object of faith, any thing that "is repugnant to the dictates of right reason?" These questions were answered, the former in the affirmative, and the latter in the negative, not only by Roell, but also by Vander Wayen, Wasselius, Duker Ruardus ab Andala, and other doctors, who were opposed in this by Ulric Nuber, an eminent lawyer, Gerard de Vries, and others of inferior note [*r*]. The flame excited by this controversy spread itself far and wide through the *United Provinces;* and its progress was increasing from day to day, when the

The controversy set on foot by Roell concerning the use of reason in religion.

[*r*] See Le Clerc, *Biblioth. Univers. et Historique,* tom. vi. p. 388.

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the states of *Friesland* prudently interposed to restore the peace of the church, by imposing silence on the contending parties. Those whose curiosity may engage them to examine with attention and accuracy the points debated in this controversy, will find, that a very considerable part of it was merely a dispute about words; and that the real difference of sentiment that there was between these learned disputants might have been easily accommodated, by proper explications on both sides.

Sentiments of Roell concerning the generation of the Son of God.

XXXIV. Not long after this controversy had been hushed, Roell alarmed the orthodox of his colleagues, and more particularly of the learned Vitringa, by some other new tenets, that rendered the soundness of his religious principles extremely doubtful, not only in their opinion, but also in the judgment of many Dutch divines [*s*]; for he maintained, "That the account we have of the "*generation* of the *Son* in the sacred writings is "not to be understood in a literal sense, or as a real "generation of a natural kind;" he also affirmed, "That the afflictions and death of the righte-"ous are as truly the *penal* effects of original "sin, as the afflictions and death of the wicked "and impenitent;" and he entertained notions concerning the *divine decrees*, *original sin*, the *satisfaction* of Christ, and other points of less moment, which differed in reality, or by the manner of expressing them seemed to differ greatly, from the doctrines received and established in the Dutch church [*t*]. The magistrates of *Friesland* used all

[*s*] For an account of Roell, see the *Bibliotheca Bremens. Theologico-Philolog.* tom. ii. p. vi. p. 707.—Casp. Burmanni *Trajectum Eruditum*, p. 306.

[*t*] Those who are desirous of the most accurate account of the errors of Roell, will find them enumerated in a public piece composed by the Faculty of Theology at Leyden, in order to confirm the sentence of condemnation that had been pro-

all the precautions that prudence could suggest, to prevent these controversies from being propagated in their province; and enacted several laws for this purpose, all tending towards peace and silence. This conduct, however, was not imitated by the other provinces, where Roell and his disciples were condemned, both in private and in public, as heretics and corrupters of divine truth [*tt*]. Nor did the death of this eminent man extinguish the animosity and resentment of his adversaries; for his disciples are still treated with severity; and, notwithstanding the solemn protestations they have given of the soundness and purity of their religious sentiments, labour under the imputation of many concealed errors.

XXXV. The

nounced against them by the Dutch synods; this piece is entitled, "Judicium Ecclesiasticum, quo opiniones quædem Cl. H. A. Roelli Synodice damnatæ sunt laudatum a Professoribus Theologiæ in Academiâ Lugduno-Batavia." Lugd. Batav. 1713, in 4to.

☞ [*tt*] This affirmation is somewhat exaggerated, at least we must not conclude from it, that Roell was either deposed or persecuted; for he exercised the functions of his professorship for several years after this at Franeker, and was afterwards called to the chair of divinity at Utrecht, and that upon the most honourable and advantageous terms. The states of Friesland published an edict, enjoining silence, and forbidding all professors, pastors, &c. in their province, to teach the particular opinions of Roell; and this pacific divine sacrificed the propagation of his opinions to the love of peace and concord. His notion concerning the Trinity did not essentially differ from the doctrine generally received upon that mysterious and unintelligible subject; and his design seemed to be no more than to prevent Christians from humanizing the relation between the Father and the Son. But this was wounding his brethren, the rigorous systematic divines, in a tender point; for if Anthropomorphism, or the custom of attributing to the Deity the kind of procedure in acting and judging that is usual among men (who resemble him only as imperfection resembles perfection), was banished from theology, orthodoxy would be deprived of some of its most precious phrases, and our confessions of faith and systems of doctrine would be reduced within much narrower bounds.

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The contest occasioned by the peculiar sentiments of Becker.

XXXV. The controversy set on foot by the ingenious Balthazar Becker, minister at *Amsterdam*, must not be omitted here. This learned ecclesiastic took occasion, from the Cartesian definition of *spirit*, of the truth and precision of which he was intimately persuaded, to deny boldly all the accounts we have in the Holy Scriptures of the seduction, influence, and operations of the devil and his infernal emissaries; as also all that has been said in favour of the existence of ghosts, spectres, sorcerers, and magicians. The long and laboured work he published, in the year 1691 upon this interesting subject, is still extant. In this singular production, which bears the title of *The World Bewitched*, he modifies and perverts, with the greatest ingenuity, but also with equal temerity and presumption, the accounts given by the sacred writers of the power of Satan and wicked angels, and of persons possessed by evil spirits; he affirms moreover, that the unhappy and malignant being, who is called in Scripture *Satan*, or the *Devil*, is chained down with his infernal ministers in hell; so that he can never come forth from this eternal prison to terrify mortals, or to seduce the righteous from the paths of virtue. According to the Cartesian definition above mentioned, the *essence of spirit* consists in *thought;* and, from this definition, Becker drew his doctrine; since none of that influence, or of those operations that are attributed to evil spirits, can be effected by mere *thinking* [*u*]. Rather,

☞ [*u*] Our historian relates here somewhat obscurely the reasoning which Becker founded upon the Cartesian definition of mind or spirit. The tenor and amount of his argument is as follows: "The essence of mind is thought, and the essence of matter is extension.—Now, since there is no sort of conformity, or connection between a thought and extension, mind cannot act upon matter, unless these two substances be united, as soul and body are in man:—therefore no

Rather, therefore, than call into question the accuracy or authority of Des Cartes, Becker thought proper to force the narrations and doctrines of Scripture into a conformity with the principles and definitions of this philosopher. These errors, nevertheless, excited great tumults and divisions, not only in all the *United Provinces*, but also in some parts of *Germany*, where several doctors of the Lutheran church were alarmed at its progress, and arose to oppose it [*w*]. Their inventor and promoter, though refuted victoriously by a multitude of adversaries, and publicly deposed from his pastoral charge, died in the year 1718, in the full persuasion of the truth of these opinions, that had drawn upon him so much opposition, and professed, with his last breath, his sincere adherence to every thing he had written on that subject. Nor can it be said, that this his doctrine died with him; since it is abundantly known, that it has still many votaries and patrons, who either hold it in secret, or profess it publicly.

no separate spirits, either good or evil, can act upon mankind. Such acting is miraculous, and miracles can be performed by God alone. It follows of consequence that the Scripture-accounts of the actions and operations of good and evil spirits must be understood in an allegorical sense." This is Becker's argument; and it does, in truth, little honour to his acuteness and sagacity. By proving too much, it proves nothing at all; for if the want of a connection or conformity between thought and extension renders mind incapable of acting upon matter, it is hard to see how their union should remove this incapacity, since the want of conformity and connection remains, notwithstanding this union. Besides, according to this reasoning, the Supreme Being cannot act upon material beings. In vain does Becker maintain the affirmative, by having recourse to a miracle; for this would imply, that the whole course of nature was a series of miracles, that is to say, that there are no miracles at all.

[*w*] See Lilienthalii *Selectæ Historiæ Literar.* p. i. observat. ii. p. 17.—*Miscellan. Lipsiens.* tom. i. p. 361, 364. where there is an explication of a satirical medal, struck to expose the sentiments of Becker. See also *Nouveau Diction. Hist. et Critique*, tom. i. p. 193.

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Dutch sects —Verschorists, Hattemists.

XXXVI. The curious reader can be no stranger to the multitude of sects, some Christian, some Half-Christian, some totally delirious, that have started up, at different times, both in *England* and *Holland*. It is difficult, indeed, for those who live in other countries, to give accurate accounts of these separatists, as the books that contain their doctrines and views are seldom dispersed in foreign nations. We have, however, been lately favoured with some relations, that give a clearer idea of the Dutch sects, called *Verschorists* and *Hattemists*, than we had before entertained; and it will not therefore be improper to give here some account of these remarkable communities. The former derives its denomination from Jacob Verschoor, a native of *Flushing*, who, in the year 1680, out of a perverse and heterogeneous mixture of the tenets of Cocceius and Spinoza, produced a new form of religion equally remarkable for its extravagance and impiety. His disciples and followers were called *Hebrews*, on account of the zeal and assiduity with which they all, without distinction of age or sex, applied themselves to the study of the Hebrew language.

The *Hattemists* were so called from Pontian Van Hattem, a minister in the province of *Zeland*, who was also addicted to the sentiments of Spinoza, and was on that account degraded from his pastoral office. The *Verschorists* and *Hattemists* resemble each other in their religious systems, though there must also be some points in which they differ; since it is well known, that Van Hattem could never persuade the former to unite their sect with his, and thus to form one communion. Neither of the two have abandoned the profession of the Reformed religion; they affect, on the contrary, an apparent attachment to it; and Hattem, in particular, published a treatise upon the *Catechism of Heidelberg*. If I understand

stand aright the imperfect relations that have been given of the sentiments and principles of these two communities. Both their founders began by perverting the doctrine of the Reformed church concerning *Absolute Decrees*, so as to deduce it from the impious system of a *fatal* and *uncontroulable necessity*. Having laid down this principle to account for the origin of all events, they went a step further into the domain of Atheism, and denied "the difference between *moral good* "and *evil*, and the corruption of human nature." From hence they concluded, "That mankind were "under no sort of obligation to correct their manners, to improve their minds, or to endeavour "after a regular obedience to the divine laws— "that the whole of religion consisted, not in *act*- "*ing*, but in *suffering*—and that all the precepts "of Jesus Christ are reducible to this single "one, that we bear with cheerfulness and patience "the events that happen to us through the "divine will, and make it our constant and only "study to maintain a permanent tranquillity of "mind."

This, if we are not mistaken, was the common doctrine of the two sects under consideration. There were, however, certain opinions or fancies, that were peculiar to Hattem and his followers, who affirmed, "That Christ had not satisfied "the divine justice, nor made an expiation for "the sins of men by his death and sufferings, but "had only signified to us, by his mediation, "that there was nothing in us that could offend "the Deity." Hattem maintained, "that this "was Christ's manner of justifying his servants, "and presenting them blameless, before the tri- "bunal of God." These opinions seem perverse and pestilential in the highest degree; and they evidently tend to extinguish all virtuous sentiments, and to dissolve all moral obligation. It

does not however appear, that either of these innovations directly recommended immorality and vice, or thought that men might safely follow, without any restraint, the impulse of their irregular appetites and passions. It is at least certain, that the following maxim is placed among their tenets, *that God does not punish men* for *their sins, but* by *their sins;* and this maxim seems to signify, that, if a man does not restrain his irregular appetites, he must suffer the painful fruits of his licentiousness, both in a present and future life, not in consequence of any judicial sentence pronounced by the will, or executed by the immediate hand of God, but according to some fixed law or constitution of nature [*x*]. The two sects still subsist, though they bear no longer the names of their founders.

The disputes in Switzerland concerning the Consensus or form of concord.

XXXVII. The churches of *Switzerland*, so early as the year 1669, were alarmed at the progress which the opinions of Amyraut, De la Place, and Capell, were making in different countries; and they were apprehensive that the doctrine they had received from Calvin, and which had been so solemnly confirmed by the synod of *Dort*, might be altered and corrupted by these new improvements in theology. This apprehension was so much the less chimerical, as at that very time there were, among the clergy of *Geneva*, certain doctors eminent for their learning and eloquence, who not only adopted these new opinions, but were also desirous, notwithstanding the opposition and remonstrances of their colleagues, of propagating them among the people [*y*]. To set bounds to the zeal of these innovators, and to stop the progress of the new doctrines,

[*x*] See Theod. Hasæ *Dissert. in Museo Bremensi Theol. Philolog.* vol. ii. p. 144.—*Bibliotheque Belgique*, tom. ii. p. 203.

[*y*] See Leti *Istoria Genevrina*, part iv. book v. p. 448, 488, 497, &c.

trines, the learned John Henry Heidegger, professor of divinity at *Zurich*, was employed in the year 1675, by an assembly composed of the most eminent Helvetic divines, to draw up a form of doctrine, in direct opposition to the tenets and principles of the celebrated French writers mentioned above. The magistrates were engaged, without much difficulty, to give this production the stamp of their authority; and to add to it the other confessions of faith received in the Helvetic church, under the peculiar denomination of the *Form of Concord*. This step, which seemed to be taken with pacific views, proved an abundant source of division and discord. Many declared, that they could not conscientiously subscribe this new form; and thus unhappy tumults and contests arose in several places. Hence it happened, that the canton of *Basil* and the republic of *Geneva*, perceiving the inconveniences that proceeded from this new article of church-communion, and strongly solicited in the year 1686, by Frederic William, elector of *Brandenburg*, to ease the burthened consciences of their clergy, abrogated this form [z]. It is nevertheless certain, that in the other cantons it maintained its authority for some time after this period; but in our time, the discords

☞ [z] It must not be imagined, from this expression of our historian, that this Form, entitled the *Consensus*, was abrogated at Basil by a positive edict. The case stood thus: Mr. Peter Werensels, who was at the head of the ecclesiastical consistory of that city, paid such regard to the letter of the elector, as to avoid requiring a subscription to this Form from the candidates for the ministry; and his conduct, in this respect, was imitated by his successors. The remonstrances of the elector do not seem to have had the same effect upon those that governed the church of *Geneva*; for the *Consensus*, or *Form of Agreement*, maintained its credit and authority there until the year 1706, when, without being abrogated by any positive act, it fell into disuse. In several other parts of *Switzerland*, it was still imposed as a rule of faith, as appears by the letters

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cords it has excited in many places, and more particularly in the university of *Lausanne*, have contributed to deprive it of all its authority, and to sink it into utter oblivion [*a*].

addressed by George I. king of England, as also by the king of Prussia, in the year 1723, to the Swiss Cantons, in order to procure the abrogation of this *Form*, or *Consensus*, which was considered as an obstacle to the union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. See the *Memoires pour servir à l' Histoire des troubles arrivées en Suisse à l'occasion du Consensus*, published in 8vo at Amsterdam, in the year 1726.

[*a*] See Christ. Matth. Pfaffii *Schediasma de Formulâ Consensus Helvetica*, published in 4to at Tubingen, in the year 1723.—*Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des troubles arrivées en Suisse à l'occasion du Consensus.*

THE

THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION II.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Arminian Church.

I. THERE sprung forth from the bosom of the Reformed church, during this century, two new sects, whose birth and progress were for a long time, painful and perplexing to the parent that bore them. These sects were the Arminians and Quakers, whose origin was owing to very different principles, since the former derived its existence from an excessive propensity to improve the faculty of reason, and to follow its dictates and discoveries: while the latter sprung up, like a rank weed, from the neglect and contempt of human reason. The Arminians derive their name and their origin from James Arminius, or Harmensen, who was first pastor at *Amsterdam*, afterwards professor of divinity at *Leyden*, and who attracted the esteem and applause of his very enemies, by his acknowledged candour, penetration and piety [*a*]. They received also the denomination

The denomination of Arminians whence.

[*a*] The most ample account we have of this eminent man is given by Brandt, in his *Historia Vitæ Jac. Arminii*, published at Leyden in 8vo, in 1724; and the year after by me at

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nomination of *Remonstrants*, from an humble petition, entitled, their *Remonstrances*, which they addressed in the year 1610, to the states of *Holland*, and, as the patrons of Calvinism, presented an address in opposition to this, which they called their *Counter-remonstrances*, so did they in consequence thereof, receive the name of *Counter-remonstrants*.

The commencement of Arminianism.

II. Arminius, though he had imbibed in his tender years the doctrines of *Geneva*, and had even received his theological education in the university of that city, yet rejected, when he arrived at the age of manhood, the sentiments, concerning Predestination and the Divine Decrees, that are adopted by the greatest part of the Reformed churches, and embraced the principles and communion of those, whose religious system extends the love of the Supreme Being, and the *merits* of Jesus Christ, to all mankind [*b*]. As time

at Brunswick, with an additional Preface and some Annotations. See also *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Critique*, tom. i. p. 471. All the works of Arminius are comprised in one moderate 4to volume. The edition I have now before me was printed at Francfort, in the year 1634. They who would form a just and accurate notion of the temper, genius, and doctrine of this divine, will do well to peruse, with particular attention, that part of his works that is known under the title of his *Disputationes publicæ et privatæ*. There is in his manner of reasoning, and also in his phraseology, some little remains of the scholastic jargon of that age; but we find, nevertheless, in his writings upon the whole, much of that simplicity and perspicuity which his followers have always looked upon, and still consider as among the principal qualities of a Christian minister. For an account of the Arminian Confessions of Faith, and the historical writers, who have treated of this sect, see Jo. Christ. Coccherus, *Biblioth. Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 481.

[*b*] Bertius, in his Funeral Oration on Arminius, Brandt, in his History of his Life, p. 22. and almost all the ecclesiastical historians of this period, mention the occasion of this change in the sentiments of Arminius. It happened in the year 1591, as appears from the remarkable letter of Arminius to

time and deep meditation had only served to confirm him in these principles, he thought himself obliged, by the dictates both of candour and conscience, to profess them publicly, when he had obtained the chair of divinity in the university of *Leyden*, and to oppose the doctrine and sentiments of Calvin on these heads, which had been followed by the greatest part of the Dutch clergy. Two considerations encouraged him in a particular manner, to venture upon this open declaration of his sentiments: for he was persuaded, on the one hand, that there were many persons, beside himself, and, among these, some of the first rank and dignity, that were highly disgusted at the doctrine of absolute decrees; and, on the other, he knew that the Belgic doctors were neither obliged by their confession of faith, nor by any other public law, to adopt and propagate the principles of Calvin. Thus animated and encouraged, Arminius taught his sentiments publicly, with great freedom and equal success, and persuaded many of the truth of his doctrine: but as Calvinism was at this time in a flourishing state in *Holland*, this freedom procured him a multitude of enemies, and drew upon him the severest marks of disapprobation and resentment from those that adhered to the theological system of *Geneva*, and more especially from Francis Gomar, his colleague. Thus commenced that long, tedious, and intricate controversy, that afterwards made such a noise in *Europe*. Arminius died in the year 1609, when it was just beginning to involve his country in contention and discord [*c*].

III. After

to Grynæus, which bears date that same year, and in which the former proposes to the latter some of his theological doubts. This letter is published in the *Biblioth. Brem. Theol. Philolog.* tom. iii. p. 384.

[*c*] The history of this controversy, and of the public discords and tumults it occasioned, is more circumstantially related

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The progress of Arminianism.

III. After the death of Arminius, the combat seemed to be carried on, during some years, between the contending parties, with equal success; so that it was not easy to foresee which side would gain the ascendant. The demands of the Arminians were moderate; they required no more than a bare toleration for their religious sentiments [*d*]; and some of the first men in the republic, such as Oldenbarneveldt, Grotius, Hoogerbeets, and several others, looked upon these demands as reasonable and just. It was the opinion of these great men, that as the points in debate had not been determined by the *Belgic confession of faith*, every individual had an unquestionable right to judge for himself; and that more especially in a free state, which had thrown off the yoke of spiritual despotism and civil tyranny. In consequence of this persuasion, they used their utmost efforts to accommodate matters, and left no methods unemployed to engage the Calvinists to treat with Christian moderation and forbearance

lated by Brandt, in the second and third volumes of his History of the Reformation, than by any other writer. This excellent history is written in Dutch: but there is an abridgment of it in French, in three volumes, 8vo, which has been translated into English. Add to this, Uytenbogard's Ecclesiastical History, written also in Dutch.—Limborchi *Historia vitæ Episcopii.*—The *Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum*, published by Limborch.—Those who desire a more concise view of this contest, will find it in Limborch's *Relatio Historica de origine et progressu Controversiarum in Fœderato Belgio de Predestinatione et capitibus annexis*, which is subjoined to the latter editions of his *Theologia Christiana*, or Body of Divinity. It is true, all these are Arminians, and, as impartiality requires our hearing both sides, the reader may consult Trigland's Ecclesiastical History, composed likewise in Dutch, and a prodigious number of polemical writings published against the Arminians.

☞ [*d*] This toleration was offered them in the conference held at the Hague, in the year 1611, provided they would renounce the errors of Socinianism. See Trigland, *loc. cit.*—See also Henry Brandt's *Collatio scripto habita Hagæcomitum*, printed at Zericzée, in 1715.

ance their dissenting brethren. These efforts were at first attended with some prospect of success. Maurice, prince of *Orange*, and the Princess Dowager, his mother, countenanced those pacific measures, though the former became afterwards one of the warmest adversaries of the Arminians. Hence a conference was held, in the year 1611, at the *Hague*, between the contending parties; another at *Delft*, in the year 1613; and hence also that pacific edict issued out in 1614, by the states of *Holland*, to exhort them to charity and mutual forbearance; not to mention a number of expedients applied in vain to prevent the schism that threatened the church [*e*]. But these measures confirmed, instead of removing, the apprehensions of the Calvinists; from day to day they were still more firmly persuaded, that the Arminians aimed at nothing less than the ruin of all religion; and hence they censured their magistrates with great warmth and freedom, for interposing their authority to promote peace and union with such adversaries [*f*]. And those, who are well informed and impartial, must candidly acknowledge, that the Arminians were far from being

[*e*] The writers who have given accounts of these transactions are well known; we shall only mention the first and second volumes of the *Histoire de Louis* XIII. by Le Vassor, who treats largely and accurately of these religious commotions, and of the civil transactions that were connected with them.

[*f*] The conduct of the States of Holland, who employed not only the language of persuasion, but also the voice of authority, in order to calm these commotions, and restore peace in the church, was defended, with his usual learning, and eloquence, by Grotius, in two treatises. The one, which contains the general principles on which this defence is founded, is entitled, "De jure summarum potestatum circa sacra;" the other, in which these principles are peculiarly applied in justifying the conduct of the States, was published, in the year 1613, under the following title: "Ordinum Hollandiæ ac Westfrisiæ Pietas a multorum calumniis vindicata."

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being sufficiently cautious in avoiding connexions with persons of loose principles, and that by frequenting the company of those, whose sentiments were entirely different from the received doctrines of the Reformed church, they furnished their enemies with a pretext for suspecting their own principles, and presenting their theological system in the worst colours.

The five articles of Arminianism.

IV. It is worthy of observation, that this unhappy controversy, which assumed another form, and was rendered more comprehensive by new subjects of contention, after the synod of *Dort*, was, at this time, confined to the doctrines relating to Predestination and Grace. The sentiments of the Arminians, concerning these intricate points, were comprehended in *five articles*. They held,

1. "That God, from all eternity, determined "to bestow salvation on those whom he foresaw "would persevere unto the end in their faith in "Christ Jesus; and to inflict everlasting punish- "ments on those who should continue in their "unbelief, and resist, unto the end, his divine "succours:

2. "That Jesus Christ, by his death and "sufferings, made an atonement for the sins of all "mankind in general, and of every individual in "particular;—that, however, none but those who "believe in him can be partakers of their divine "benefit:

3. "That *true faith* cannot proceed from the "exercise of our natural faculties and powers, nor "from the force and operation of free-will; since "man, in consequence of his natural corruption, "is incapable either of thinking or doing any "good thing; and that therefore it is necessary "to his conversion and salvation, that he be *re-* "*generated* and renewed by the operation of the "Holy Ghost, which is the gift of God, through "Jesus Christ:

4. "That

4. "That this *Divine Grace*, or energy of the "Holy Ghost, which heals the disorder of a cor- "rupt nature, begins, advances, and brings to "perfection every thing that can be called *good* "in man; and that, consequently, all good works, "without exception, are to be attributed to God "alone, and to the operation of his grace; that, "nevertheless, this grace does not *force* the man "to act against his inclination, but may be *resist-* "*ed* and rendered *ineffectual* by the perverse will "of the impenitent sinner:

5. "That they who are united to Christ by faith "are thereby furnished with abundant strength, "and with succours sufficient to enable them to "triumph over the seduction of Satan, and the al- "lurements of sin and temptation; but that the "question, *Whether such* may *fall from their "faith, and forfeit finally this state of grace?* "has not been yet resolved with sufficient perspi- "cuity; and must, therefore, be yet more carefully "examined by an attentive study of what the "holy Scriptures have declared in relation to this "important point."

It is to be observed, that this last article was afterwards changed by the Arminians, who, in process of time, declared their sentiments with less caution, and positively affirmed, that *the saints might fall from a state of grace* [*g*].

If we are to judge of men's sentiments by their words and declarations, the tenets of the Arminians, at the period of time now under consideration, bear a manifest resemblance of the Lutheran system. But the Calvinists did not judge in this manner; on the contrary, they explained the

[*g*] The history of these five articles, and more particularly of their reception and progress in England, has been written by Dr. Heylin, whose book was translated into Dutch by the learned and eloquent Brandt, and published at Rotterdam in the year 1687.

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the words and declarations of the Arminians according to the notions they had formed of their hidden sentiments; and, instead of judging of their opinions by their expressions, they judged of their expressions by their opinions. They maintained, that the Arminians designed, under these specious and artful declarations, to insinuate the poison of Socinianism and Pelagianism into unwary and uninstructed minds. The secret thoughts of men are only known to Him, who is the searcher of hearts; and it is his privilege alone to pronounce judgment upon those intentions and designs that are concealed from public view. But if we were allowed to interpret the *five articles* now mentioned in a sense conformable to what the leading doctors among the Arminians have taught in later times concerning these points, it would be difficult to shew, that the suspicions of the Calvinists were entirely groundless. For it is certain whatever the Arminians may allege to the contrary, that the sentiments of their most eminent theological writers, after the synod of *Dort*, concerning Divine Grace, and the other doctrines that are connected with it, approached much nearer to the opinions of the Pelagians and Semi-pelagians, than to those of the Lutheran church [*h*].

Prince Maurice declares against the Arminians.

V. The mild and favourable treatment the Arminians received from the magistrates of *Holland*, and from several persons of merit and distinction, encouraged

[*h*] This is a curious remark. It would seem as if the Lutherans were not Semi-pelagians; as if they considered man as absolutely passive in the work of his conversion and sanctification; but such an opinion surely has never been the general doctrine of the Lutheran church, however rigorously Luther may have expressed himself on that head, in some unguarded moments; more especially it may be affirmed, that in latter times the Lutherans are, to a man, Semi-pelagians; and let it not be thought that this is imputed to them as a reproach.

encouraged them to hope, that their affairs would take a prosperous turn, or at least that their cause was not desperate, when an unexpected and sudden storm arose against them, and blasted their expectations. This change was owing to causes entirely foreign to religion; and its origin must be sought for in those connexions which can scarcely be admitted as possible by the philosopher, but are perpetually presented to the view of the historian. A secret misunderstanding had for some time subsisted between the Stadtholder Maurice, prince of *Orange*, and some of the principal magistrates and ministers of the new republic, such as Oldenbarneveldt, Grotius, and Hoogerbeets; and this misunderstanding had at length broke out into an open enmity and discord. The views of this great prince are differently represented by different historians. Some allege, that he had formed the design of getting himself declared count of *Holland*, a dignity which William I. the glorious founder of Belgic liberty, is also said to have had in view [*i*]. Others affirm, that he only aspired after

[*i*] That Maurice aimed at the dignity of Count of Holland we learn from Aubery's *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Hollande et des autres Provinces Unies*, sect. ii. p. 216. Ed. Paris. If we are to believe Aubery (informed by his father, who was, at that time, ambassador of France at the Hague), Oldenbarneveldt disapproved of this design, prevented its execution, and lost his life by his bold opposition to the views of the Prince. This account is looked upon as erroneous by Le Vasser, who takes much pains to refute it, and indeed with success, in his *Histoire de Louis* XIII. tom. ii. p. ii. p. 123. Le Clerk, in his *Biblioth. Choisie*, tom. ii. p. 134, and in his History of the United Provinces, endeavours to confirm what is related by Aubery; and also affirms, that the project formed by Maurice had been formed before by his father. The determination of this debated point is not necessary to our present purpose. It is sufficient to observe, what is acknowledged on all sides, that Oldenbarneveldt and his associates suspected Prince Maurice of a design to encroach

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after a greater degree of authority and influence than seemed consistent with the liberties of the republic; it is at least certain, that some of the principal persons in the government suspected him of aiming at supreme dominion. The leading men above mentioned opposed these designs; and these leading men were the patrons of the Arminians. The *Arminians* adhered to these their patrons and defenders, without whose aid they could have no prospect of security or protection. Their adversaries the *Gomarists*, on the contrary, seconded the views and espoused the interests of the prince, and inflamed his resentment, which had been already more or less kindled by various suggestions, to the disadvantage of the Arminians, and of those who protected them. Thus, after mutual suspicions and discontents, the flame broke out with violence; and Maurice resolved the downfal of those who ruled the republic, without shewing a proper regard to his counsels; and also of the Arminians, who espoused their cause. The leading men, that sat at the helm of government, were cast into prison. Oldenbarneveldt, a man of gravity and wisdom, whose hairs were grown gray in the service of his country, lost his life on a public scaffold; while Grotius and Hoogerbeets were condemned to a perpetual prison [*k*], under what pretext, or in consequence of

encroach upon the liberties of the republic, and to arrogate to himself the supreme dominion. Hence the zeal of Barneveldt to weaken his influence, and to set bounds to his authority; hence the indignation and resentment of Maurice; and hence the downfal of the Arminian sect, which enjoyed the patronage, and adhered to the interests of Oldenbarneveldt and Grotius.

[*k*] The truth of this general account of these unhappy divisions will undoubtedly be acknowledged by all parties, particularly at this period of time, when these tumults and commotions have subsided, and the spirit of party is less blind, partial,

of what accusations or crimes, is unknown to us [*l*]. As the Arminians were not charged with any partial, and violent. And the candid and ingenious Calvinists, who acknowledge this, will not thereby do the smallest prejudice to their cause. For should they even grant (what I neither pretend to affirm nor deny) that their ancestors, carried away by the impetuous spirit of the times, defended their religious opinions in a manner that was far from being consistent with the dictates of moderation and prudence, no rational conclusion can be drawn from this, either against them or the goodness of their cause. For it is well known, both by observation and experience, that unjustifiable things have often been done by men, whose characters and intentions, in the general, were good and upright; and that a good cause has frequently been maintained by methods that would not bear a rigorous examination. What I have said with brevity on this subject is confirmed and amplified by Le Clerc, in his *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, and the *Biblioth. Choisie*, tom. ii. p. 134. and also by Grotius, in his *Apologeticus eorum, qui Hollandiæ et Westfrisiæ, et vicinis quibusdam nationibus præfuerant ante mutationem quæ evenit*, An. 1618. The life of Oldenbarneveldt, written in Dutch, was published at the *Hague*, in 4to, in the year 1648. The history of his trial, and of the judgment pronounced in the famous triumvirate, mentioned above, was drawn by Gerard Brandt, from authentic records, and published under the following title: *Histoire van de Rechtspleginge gehouden in den jgaren* 1618 et 1619, *omtrent dedrie gevangene Heeren* Johann Van Oldenbarneveldt, Rombout Hoogerbeets, *en* Hugo de Groot; a third edition of this book augmented with Annotations, was published in 4to, at *Rotterdam*, in the year 1723. The *History of the Life and Actions of* Grotius, composed in Dutch by Caspar Brandt and Adrian Van Cattenburgh, and drawn mostly from original papers, casts a considerable degree of light on the history of the transactions now before us. This famous work was published in the year 1727, in two volumes in folio, at *Dort* and *Amsterdam*, under the following title: *Histoire van het leven des Heron* Huig de Groot, *beschreven tot den Anfang van zyn Gesandchap wegens de Koninginne en Kroone van Zweden aanit Hof van Vrankryck door* Caspard Brandt, *en vervolgt tot zyn dood door* Adrian Van Cattenburg. Those who desire to form a true and accurate notion of the character and conduct of Grotius, and to see him as it were near hand, must have recourse to this excellent work; since all the other accounts of this great man are insipid, lifeless, and exhibit little else than a poor shadow, in-

any violation of the laws, but merely with departing from the established religion, their cause was not of such a nature as rendered it cognizable by a civil tribunal. That, however, this cause might be regularly condemned, it was judged proper to bring it before an ecclesiastical assembly, or national synod. This method of proceeding was agreeable to the sentiments and principles of the Calvinists, who are of opinion, that all spiritual concerns and religious controversies ought to be judged and decided by an ecclesiastical assembly or council [*m*].

VI.

stead of a real and animated substance. The life of Grotius, composed by Burigni in French, and published successively at *Paris* and *Amsterdam*, in two volumes 8vo, deserves perhaps to be included in this general censure; it is at least a very indifferent and superficial performance. ☞ There appeared in *Holland* a warm vindication of the memory of this great man in a work published at *Delft*, in 1727, and entitled, *Grotii Manes ab iniquis obtrectationibus vindicati; accedit scriptorum ejus tum editorum tum ineditorum, Conspectus Triplex.* See the following note.

☞ [*l*] Dr. Mosheim, however impartial, seems to have consulted more the authors of one side than of the other; probably because they are more numerous, and more universally known. When he published this history, the world was not favoured with the *Letters, Memoirs, and Negotiations of Sir* Dudley Carleton; which Lord Royston (now Earl of Harwick), drew forth some years ago from his inestimable treasure of historical manuscripts, and presented to the public, or rather at first to a select number of persons to whom he distributed a small number of copies of these *Negotiations*, printed at his own expence. They were soon translated both into Dutch and French; and though it cannot be affirmed that the spirit of party is no where discoverable in them, yet they contain anecdotes with respect both to Oldenbarneveldt and Grotius, that the Arminians, and the other patrons of these two great men have been studious to conceal. These anecdotes, though they may not be at all sufficient to justify the severities exercised against these eminent men, would, however, have prevented Dr. Mosheim from saying that he knew not under what pretext they were arrested.

☞ [*m*] The Calvinists are not particular in this; and indeed it is natural that debates, purely theological, should be discussed in an assembly of divines.

The synod of *Dort.*

VI. Accordingly a synod was convoked at *Dort*, in the year 1618, by the counsels and influence of Prince Maurice [*n*], at which were present ecclesiastical deputies from the United Provinces, as also from the churches of *England*, *Hessia*, *Bremen*, *Switzerland*, and the *Palatinate*. The leading men among the Arminians appeared, before this famous assembly, to defend their cause; and they had at their head, Simon Episcopius, who was, at that time, professor of divinity at *Leyden*, had formerly been the disciple of Arminius, and was admired, even by his enemies, on account of the depth of his judgment, the extent of his learning, and the force of his eloquence. This eminent man addressed a discourse, full of moderation, gravity, and elocution, to the assembled divines; but this was no sooner finished, than difficulties arose, which prevented the *conference* the Arminians had demanded, in order to shew the grounds, in reason and scripture, on which their opinions were founded. The Arminian deputies proposed to begin the defence of their cause by refuting the opinions of the Calvinists, their adversaries. This proposal was rejected by the synod, which looked upon the Arminians as a set of men that lay under the charge of heresy; and therefore thought it incumbent upon them first to declare and prove their own opinions, before they

☞ [*n*] Our author always forgets to mention the order, issued out by the States-general, for the convocation of this famous synod; and by his manner of expressing himself, and particularly by the phrase (Mauritio *auctore*), would seem to insinuate, that it was by the prince that this assembly was called together. The legitimacy of the manner of convoking this synod was questioned by Oldenbarneveldt, who maintained that the States-general had no sort of authority in matters of religion, not even the power of assembling a synod; affirming that this was an act of sovereignty, that belonged to each province separately and respectively. See Carleton's *Letters, &c.*

they could be allowed to combat the sentiments of others. The design of the Arminians, in the proposal they made, was probably to get the people on their side, by such an unfavourable representation of the Calvinistical system, and of the harsh consequences, that seem deducible from it, as might excite a disgust, in the minds of those that were present, against its patrons and abettors. And it is more than probable, that one of the principal reasons, that engaged the members of the synod to reject this proposal, was a consideration of the genius and eloquence of Episcopius, and an apprehension of the effects they might produce upon the multitude. When all the methods employed to persuade the Arminians to submit to the manner of proceeding, proposed by the synod, proved ineffectual, they were excluded from that assembly, and returned home, complaining bitterly of the rigour and partiality with which they had been treated. Their cause was nevertheless tried in their absence, and, in consequence of a strict examination of their writings, they were pronounced guilty of pestilential errors, and condemned as corrupters of the true religion. This sentence was followed by its natural effects, which were the excommunication of the Arminians, the suppression of their religious assemblies, and the depravation of their ministers. In this unhappy contest, the candid and impartial observer will easily perceive that there were faults committed on both sides. Which of the contending parties is most worthy of censure is a point, whose discussion is foreign to our present purpose [*o*].

VII. We

[*o*] The writers who have given accounts of the synod of *Dort* are mentioned by Jo. Albert. Fabricius, in his *Biblioth. Græc.* vol. xi. p. 723. The most ample account of this famous assembly has been given by Brandt, in the second and

The judgment that ought to be formed concerning this synod.

VII. We shall not here appreciate either the merit or demerit of the divines, that were assembled in this famous synod; but we cannot help observing that their sanctity, wisdom, and virtue have been exalted beyond all measure by the Calvinists, while their partiality, violence, and their other defects, have been exaggerated with a certain degree of malignity by the Arminians [*p*]. There is no sort of doubt, but that, among the members of this assembly, who sat in judgment upon the Arminians, there were several persons equally distinguished by their learning, piety, and integrity, who acted with upright intentions, and had not the least notion, that the steps they were taking, or encouraging, were at all inconsistent with equity and wisdom. On the other hand, it appears with the utmost evidence, that the Arminians had reason to complain of several circumstances that strike us in the history of this remarkable period. It is plain, in the first place, that

and third volumes of his *History of the Reformation in the United Provinces;* but, as this author is an Arminian, it will not be improper to compare his relation with a work of the learned Leydekker, in which the piety and justice of the proceedings of this synod are vindicated against the censures of Brandt. This work, which is composed in Dutch, was published in two volumes in 4to, at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1705 and 1707, under the following title: *Eere van de Nationale Synode, van Dordrecht voorgestaan en bevestigd tegen de beschuldingen van* G. Brandt. After comparing diligently these two productions, I could see no enormous error in Brandt; for, in truth, these two writers do not so much differ about facts, as they do in the reasoning they deduce from them, and in their accounts of the causes from whence they proceeded. The reader will do well to consult the *Letters* of the learned and worthy Mr. John Hales of *Eaton*, who was an impartial spectator of the proceedings of this famous synod, and who relates with candour and simplicity what he saw and heard.

[*p*] All that appeared unfair to the Arminians in the proceedings of this synod, has been collected together in a Dutch book, entitled, *Nulliteten, Mishandelingen, ende anbyllike Procedurin, des Nationalen Synodi gehouden binnen Dordrecht*, &c.

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the ruin of their community was a point not only premeditated, but determined even before the meeting of the national synod [q]; and that this synod was not so much assembled to examine the doctrine of the Arminians, in order to see whether it was worthy of toleration and indulgence, as to publish and execute, with a certain solemnity, with an air of justice, and with the suffrage and consent of foreign divines, whose authority was respectable, a sentence already drawn up and agreed upon by those who had the principal direction in these affairs. It is further to be observed, that the accusers and adversaries of the Arminians were their judges, and that Bogerman, who presided in this famous synod, was distinguished by his peculiar hatred of that sect; that neither the Dutch nor foreign divines had the liberty of giving their suffrage according to their own private sentiments, but were obliged to deliver the opinions of the princes and magistrates, of whose orders they were the depositaries [r]; that the influence of the lay deputies, who appeared in the synod with commissions from the States-general and the prince of *Orange*, was still superior to that of the ecclesiastical members, who sat as judges; and lastly, that the solemn promise, made to the Arminians, when they were summoned before the synod, that *they should be allowed the freedom of explaining and defending their opinions*,

☞ [q] This assertion is of too weighty a nature to be advanced without sufficient proof. Our author quotes no authority for it.

☞ [r] Here our author has fallen into a palpable mistake. The Dutch divines had no commission but from their respective consistories, or subordinate ecclesiastical assemblies; nor are they ever depositaries of the orders of their magistrates, who have lay-deputies to represent them both in provincial and national synods. As to the English and other foreign doctors that appeared in the synod of *Dort*, the case perhaps may have been somewhat different.

opinions, as far as they thought proper, or necessary to their justification, was manifestly violated [*t*].

VIII. The Arminians, in consequence of the decision of the synod, were considered as enemies of their country and of its established religion; and they were accordingly treated with great severity. They were deprived of all their posts and employments, whether ecclesiastical or civil; and, which they looked upon as a yet more intolerable instance of the rigour of their adversaries, their ministers were silenced, and their congregations were suppressed. They refused obedience to the order, by which their pastors were prohibited from performing, in public, their ministerial functions; and this drew upon themselves anew the resentment of their superiors, who punished them by fines, imprisonments, exile, and other marks of ignominy. To avoid these vexations, many of them retired to *Antwerp*, others fled to *France;* while a considerable number, accepting the invitation sent to them by Frederick, duke of *Holstein*, formed a colony, which settled in the dominions of that prince, and built for themselves a handsome town called *Frederickstadt*, in the duchy of *Sleswyck*, where they still live happy and unmolested, in the open profession and free exercise of their religion. The heads of this colony were persons of distinction, who had been obliged to leave their native country on account of these troubles, particularly Adrian Vander Wael, who was the first governor of the new city [*u*]. Among the persecuted ecclesiastics, who

The fate of the Arminians after the synod of Dort.

[*t*] See Le Vassor, *Histoire du Regne de* Louis XIII. tom. iii. livr. xii. p. 365, 366.—and Mosheim's preface to the Latin translation of Hale's account of the synod of *Dort*, p. 394—400.

[*u*] The history of this colony is accurately related in the famous letters published by Philip Limborch and Christian

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who followed this colony, were, the famous Vorstius, who, by his religious sentiments, which differed but little from the Socinian system, had rendered the Arminians particularly odious, Grevinckhovius, a man of a resolute spirit, who had been pastor at *Rotterdam* Goulart, Grevius, Walters, Narsius, and others [*w*].

They are recalled from exile.

IX. After the death of Prince Maurice, which happened in the year 1625, the Arminian exiles experienced the mildness and clemency of his brother and successor Frederic Henry, under whose administration they were recalled from banishment, and restored to their former reputation and tranquillity. Those who had taken refuge in the kingdom of *France*, and in the Spanish *Netherlands*, were the first that embraced this occasion of returning to their native country, where they erected churches in several places, and more particularly in the cities of *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*, under the mild shade of a religious toleration. That they might also have a public seminary of learning for the instruction of their youth, and the propagation of their theological principles, they founded a college at *Amsterdam*, in which two professors were appointed to instruct the candidates for the ministry, in the various branches of literature and science, sacred and profane. Simon Episcopius was the first professor of theology among the Arminians; and, since his time, the seminary now mentioned has been,

Hartsoeker, entitled, *Epistolæ præstantium et eruditorum virorum Ecclesiastica et Theologicæ*, of which the last edition was published in folio, at *Amsterdam* in the year 1704.—See also Jo. Molleri *Introductio in Histor. Chersonesi Cimbricæ*, p. ii. p. 108—and Pontoppidani *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 714.

[*w*] For an ample account of Vorstius, see Jo. Molleri *Cimbri Literata*, tom. ii. p. 931. as also p. 242. 247. 249. 255. 576. where we find a particular account of the other ecclesiastics above mentioned.

been, generally speaking, furnished with professors eminent for their learning and genius, such as Courcelles, Poelenburg, Limborch, Le Clerc, Cattenburgh [*x*], and Wetstein.

The ancient and modern system of Arminianism.

X. We have already seen that the original difference between the Arminians and the Calvinists was entirely confined to the *five points* mentioned above, relative to the doctrines of Predestination and Grace; and it was the doctrine of the *former* concerning these points alone that occasioned their condemnation in the synod of *Dort*. It is further to be observed, that these five points, as explained at that time by the Arminians, seemed to differ very little from the Lutheran system. But after the synod of *Dort*, and more especially after the return of the Arminian exiles into their native country, the theological system of this community underwent a remarkable change, and assumed an aspect, that distinguished it entirely from that of all other Christian churches. For then they gave a new explication of these *five articles*, that made them almost coincide with the doctrine of those who deny the necessity of divine succours in the work of conversion, and in the paths of virtue. Nay, they went still further, and, bringing the greatest part of the doctrines of Christianity before the tribunal of reason, they modified them considerably, and reduced them to an extensive degree of simplicity. Arminius, the parent and founder of the community, was, undoubtedly, the inventor of this new form of doctrine, and taught it to his disciples [*y*]; but it was first digested into a regular

[*x*] There is an accurate account of these and the other Arminian writers given by Adrian Van Cattenburg, in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Remonstrantium*, printed in 8vo, at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1728.

[*y*] It is a common opinion that the ancient Arminians, who flourished before the synod of *Dort*, were much more sound

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gular system, and embellished with the charms of a masculine eloquence, by Episcopius, whose learning and genius have given him a place among the Arminian doctors, next to their founder [z]. XI.

sound in their opinions, and strict in their morals, than those who have lived after this period; that Arminius himself only rejected the Calvinistical doctrine of absolute decrees, and what he took to be its immediate consequences, adopting in all other points the doctrines received in the Reformed churches; but that his disciples, and more especially Episcopius, had boldly transgressed the bounds that had been wisely prescribed by their master, and had gone over to the Pelagians, and even to the Socinians. Such, I say is the opinion commonly entertained concerning this matter. But it appears, on the contrary, evident to me, that Arminius himself, had laid the plan of that theological system, that was, in after times, embraced by his followers, and that he had instilled the main principles of it into the minds of his disciples; and that these latter, and particularly Episcopius, did really no more than bring this plan to a greater degree of perfection, and propagate, with more courage and perspicuity, the doctrines it contained. I have the testimony of Arminius to support this notion, besides many others that might be alleged in its behalf; for, in the *last will* made by this eminent man, a little before his death, he plainly and positively declares, that the great object he had in view, in all his theological and ministerial labours, was to unite in one community, cemented by the bonds of fraternal charity, all sects and denominations of Christians, the papists excepted; his words, as they are recorded in the funeral oration, which was composed on occasion of his death by Bertius, are as follow: *Ea proposui et docui .... quæ ad propagationem amplificationemque veritatis religionis Christianæ, veri Dei cultus, communis pietatis, et sanctæ inter homines conversationis, denique ad* CONVENIENTEM CHRISTIANO NOMINI TRANQUILLITATEM ET PACEM *juxta verbum Dei* POSSENT CONFERRE, EXCLUDENS EX IIS PAPATUM, *cum quo nulla unitas fidei, nullum pietatis aut Christianæ pacis vinculum servari potest.* These words, in their amount, coincide perfectly with the modern system of Arminianism, which extend the limits of the Christian church, and relaxes the bonds of fraternal communion in such a manner, that Christians of all sects and of all denominations, whatever their sentiments and opinions may be (papists excepted), may be formed into one religious body, and live together in brotherly love and concord.

[z] The life of this eminent man was composed in Latin by

The great end proposed by the Arminian system and its principal heads.

XI. The great and ultimate end the Arminians seem to have in view is, that Christians, though divided in their opinions, may be united in fraternal charity and love, and thus be formed into one family or community, notwithstanding the diversity of their theological sentiments. In order to execute their benevolent purpose, they maintain, that Christ demands from his servants more *virtue* than *faith*; that he has confined that belief which is essential to salvation to a few articles; that, on the other hand, the rules of practice he has prescribed are extremely large in their extent; and that charity and virtue ought to be the principal study of true Christians. Their definition of a true Christian is somewhat latitudinarian in point of belief. According to their account of things, every person is a genuine subject of the kingdom of Christ; "1. Who receives the "Holy Scriptures, and more especially the New "Testament as the rule of his faith, however "he may think proper to interpret and explain "these sacred oracles; 2. Who abstains from "idolatry and polytheism, with all their con- "comitant absurdities; 3. Who leads a decent, "honest, and virtuous life, directed and regu- "lated by the laws of God; and, 4. Who never "discovers a spirit of persecution, discord, or "ill-will towards those who differ from him in "their religious sentiments, or in their manner "of interpreting the holy Scriptures." Thus the wide bosom of the Arminian church is opened to all who profess themselves Christians, however essentially they may differ from each other in their theological opinions. The papists alone are excluded from this extensive communion, and this because

by the learned and judicious Limborch, and is singularly worthy of an attentive perusal. It was published at *Amsterdam* in 8vo in the year 1701.

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because they esteem it lawful [*a*] to persecute those who will not submit to the yoke of the Roman pontiff [*b*]. It is not our design here either to justify or condemn these latitudinarian terms of communion; it is true, indeed, that, if other Christian churches adopted them, diversity of sentiments would be no longer an obstacle to mutual love and concord.

XII.

☞ [*a*] It is not only on account of their *persecuting spirit*, but also on account of their *idolatrous worship*, that the Arminians exclude the Papists from their communion. See the following note.

[*b*] For a full and accurate representation of this matter, the reader need scarcely have recourse to any other treatise than that which is published in the first volume of the works of Episcopius (p. 508.) under the following title: *Verus Theologus Remonstrans, sive veræ Remonstrantium Theologiæ de errantibus dilucida declaratio.* This treatise is written with precision and perspicuity. Le Clerc, in the *Dedication* prefixed to his Latin translation of Dr. Hammond's *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*, gives a brief account of the Arminian principles and terms of communion in the following words, addressed to the learned men of that sect; *You declare*, says he, *that they* only *are excluded from your communion, who are chargeable with idolatry—who do not receive the holy Scriptures as the rule of faith—who trample upon the precepts of* Christ *by their licentious manners and actions—and who persecute those who differ from them in matters of religion**. Many writers affirm, that the Arminians acknowledge as their brethren all those who receive that form of doctrine that is known under the denomination of the *Apostle's Creed*. But that these writers are mistaken, appears sufficiently from what has been already said on this subject; and is further confirmed by the express testimony of Le Clerc, who (in his *Biblioth. Ancienne et Mod.* tom. xxv. p. 110.) declares, that it is not true that the Arminians admit to their communion all those who receive the *Apostle's Creed:* his words are, *Ils se trompent*) *ils* (the Arminians) *offrent la communion à toux ceux, qui recoivent l'ecriture sainte comme la seule regle da la foi et des mœurs, et qui ne sont ni idolatres ni persecuteurs.*

* The original words of Le Clerc are, *Profiteri soletis .... eos duntaxat a vobis excludi, qui* (1.) *idolatoria sunt contaminati,* (2.) *qui minime habent scripturam pro fidei norma,* (3.) *qui impuris moribus sancta Christi præcepta conculcant,* (4.) *aut qui denique alios religionis causa vexant.*

The Arminian Confession of Faith.

XII. From all this it appears plain enough that the Arminian community was a kind of *medley*, composed of persons of different principles, and that, properly speaking, it could have no fixed and stable form or system of doctrine. The Arminians, however, foreseeing that this circumstance might be objected to them as a matter of reproach, and unwilling to pass for a society connected by no common principles or bond of union, have adopted, as their *Confession of Faith*, a kind of theological system, drawn up by Episcopius, and expressed, for the most part, in the words and phrases of Holy Scripture [*c*]. But as none of their pastors are obliged, either by oath, declaration, or tacit compact, to adhere strictly to this confession, and as, on the contrary, by the fundamental constitution of this community, every one is authorised to interpret its expressions (which are in effect susceptible of various significations) in a manner conformable to their peculiar sentiments; it evidently follows, that we cannot deduce from thence an accurate and consistent view of Arminianism, or know, with any degree of certainty, what doctrines are adopted or rejected by this sect. Hence it happens, that the Arminian doctors differ widely among themselves concerning some of the most important doctrines of Christianity [*d*]; nor are they universally agreed or entirely uniform in their sentiments of almost any one point, if we except the doctrines of Predestination

[*c*] This Confession of Faith is extant in Latin, Dutch, and German. The Latin edition of it is to be found in the works of Episcopius, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 69.—Where may be found also a *Defence* of this *Confession* against the objection of the professors of divinity at *Leyden*.

[*d*] They who will be at the pains of comparing together the theological writings of Episcopius, Courcelles, Limborch, Le Clerc, and Cattenburg, will see clearly the diversity of sentiments that reigns among the Arminian doctors.

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destination and Grace. They all, indeed, unanimously adhere to the doctrine that excluded their ancestors from the communion of the Reformed churches, even *that the love of God extends itself equally to all mankind; that no mortal is rendered finally unhappy by an eternal and invincible decree; and that the misery of those that perish comes from themselves;* but they explain this doctrine in a very different manner from that in which it was formerly understood. Be that as it may, this is the fundamental doctrine of the Arminians, and whoever opposes it, becomes thereby an adversary to the whole community; whereas those whose objections are levelled at particular tenets which are found in the writings of the Arminian divines, cannot be said, with any degree of propriety, to attach or censure the Arminian church, whose theological system, a few articles excepted, is vague and uncertain [*e*], and is not characterized by any fixed set of doctrines and principles. Such only attack certain doctors of that communion, who are divided among themselves, and do not agree, even in their explications of the doctrine relating to the extent of the divine love and mercy; though this be the fundamental point that occasioned their separation from the Reformed churches.

The present state of Arminianism.

XIII. The Arminian church makes at present but an inconsiderable figure, when compared with the Reformed; and, if credit may be given to public report, it declines from day to day. The Arminians

☞ [*e*] What renders the Arminian *Confession of Faith* an uncertain representation of the sentiments of the community, is, the liberty in which every pastor is indulged of departing from it, when he finds any of its doctrines in contradiction with his private opinions. See the *Introduction to the Arminian Confession of Faith*, in the third volume of the French abridgment of Brandt's *History of the Reformation of the Netherlands.*

Arminians have still in the *United Provinces* thirty-four congregations more or less numerous, which are furnished with eighty-four pastors; besides these, their church at *Frederickstadt*, in the dutchy of *Holstein*, still subsists. It cannot, however, be said, that the credit and influence of their religious principles have declined with the external lustre of their community; since it is well known that their sentiments were early adopted in several countries, and were secretly received by many who had not the courage to profess them openly. Every one is acquainted with the change that has taken place in the established church of *England*, whose clergy, generally speaking, since the time of Archbishop Laud, have embraced the Arminian doctrine concerning Predestination and Grace; and, since the restoration of Charles II. have discovered a strong propensity to many other tenets of the Arminian church. Besides this, whoever has any acquaintance with the world, must know, that, in many of the courts of Protestant princes, and generally speaking, among those persons that pretend to be wiser than the multitude, the following fundamental principle of Arminianism is adopted: "that those "doctrines, whose belief is necessary to salvation, "are very few in number; and that every one is to "be left at full liberty, with respect to his private "sentiments of God and religion, provided his "life and actions be conformable to the rules of "piety and virtue." Even the *United Provinces*, which saw within their bosom the defeat of Arminianism, are at this time sensible of a considerable change in that respect; for, while the patrons of Calvinism, in that republic acknowledge that the community which makes an external profession of Arminianism, declines gradually both in its numbers and influence, they, at the same time, complain, that its doctrines and spirit gain ground from

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from day to day; that they have even insinuated themselves more or less into the bosom of the established church, and infected the theological system of many of those very pastors who are appointed to maintain the doctrine and authority of the synod of *Dort*. The progress of Arminianism in other countries is abundantly known; and its votaries in *France*, *Geneva*, and many parts of *Switzerland*, are certainly very numerous [*ee*].

The

☞ [*ee*] It may not, however, be improper to observe here, that the progress of *Arminianism* has been greatly retarded, nay, that its cause daily declines in *Germany* and several parts of *Switzerland*, in consequence of the ascendant which the Leibnitian and Wolfian philosophy hath gained in these countries, and particularly among the clergy and men of learning. Leibnitz and Wolf, by attacking that liberty *of indifference*, which is supposed to imply the power of acting, not only *without*, but *against* motives, struck at the very foundation of the *Arminian* system. But this was not all: for, by considering that multiplicity of worlds that compose the universe, as one *System* or *Whole*, whose greatest possible *perfection* is the ultimate end of creating goodness, and the sovereign purpose of governing wisdom, they removed from the doctrine of *Predestination* those arbitrary procedures and narrow views, with which the Calvinists are supposed to have loaded it, and gave it a new, a more pleasing, and a more philosophical aspect. As the Leibnitians laid down this great end, as the supreme object of God's universal dominion, and the scope to which *all* his dispensations are directed, so they concluded, that, if this *end* was proposed, it *must* be accomplished. Hence the doctrine of necessity to fulfil the purposes of a Predestination founded in wisdom and goodness; a necessity, *physical* and *mechanical* in the motions of material and inanimate things; but a necessity, *moral* and *spiritual* in the voluntary determinations of intelligent beings, in consequence of prepollent motives, which produce their effects with *certainty*, though these effects be *contingent*, and by no means the offspring of an absolute and essentially immutable fatality. These principles are evidently applicable to the main doctrines of Calvinism; by them *Predestination* is confirmed, though modified with respect to its reasons and its ends; by them *Irresistible Grace* (irresistible in a *moral sense*) is maintained upon the hypothesis of prepollent motives and a moral necessity. The *Perseverance of the Saints* is also explicable upon the same system, by a series of moral causes producing a series of moral effects. In consequence

of

The external forms of divine worship and ecclesiastical government in the Arminian church are almost the same with those that are in use among the Presbyterians. As however, the leading men among the Arminians are peculiarly ambitious of maintaining their correspondence and fraternal intercourse with the church of England, and leave no circumstance unimproved that may tend to confirm this union; so they discover, upon all occasions, their approbation of the episcopal form of ecclesiastical government, and profess to regard it as most ancient, as truly sacred, and as superior to all other institutions of church polity [*f*].

of all this, several divines of the German church have applied the Leibnitian and Wolfian philosophy to the illustration of the doctrines of Christianity; and the learned Canzius has written a book expressly to shew the eminent use that may be made of that philosophy in throwing light upon the chief articles of our faith. See his "Philosophiæ Leibnitianæ & Wolfianæ Usus in Theologiâ per præcipuæ fidei capita, auctore Israel." Theoph. Canzio, and of which a second edition was published at Francfort and Leipsic, in 1749. See also Wittenbach's "Tentamen Theologiæ Dogmaticæ Methodo Scientifica pertractatæ," which was published in three vols. 8vo. at Francfort in 1747. See above all, the famous work of Leibnitz, entitled, "Essais de Theodicée, sur le Bonté de Dieu, la Libertê de l'homme, & l'origine du mal."—It is remarkable enough, that the Leibnitian system has been embraced by very few, scarcely by any of the English Calvinists. Can this be owing to a want of inclination towards philosophical discussions? This cannot be said, The scheme of necessity, and of partial evil's tending to universal good, has indeed been fostered in some parts of Great Britain, and even has turned some zealous Arminians into moderate and philosophical Calvinists. But the zealous Calvinists have, for the most part, held firm to their theology, and blended no philosophical principles with their system: and it is certain, that the most eminent philosophers, have been found, generally speaking, among the Arminians. If both Calvinists and Arminians claim a King, it is certain, that the latter alone can boast of a Newton, a Locke, a Clarke, and a Boyle.

[*f*] Hence, to omit many other circumstances that shew unquestionably the truth of this observation, the Arminians have been

CHAP. IV.

The History of the Sect called Quakers.

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The rise of the Quakers, George Fox.

THE sect of Quakers received this denomination in the year 1650, from Gervas Bennet, Esq. a justice of peace in Derbyshire [*g*], partly on account of the convulsive agitations and shakings of the body with which their discourses to the people were usually attended, and partly on account of the exhortation addressed to this magistrate by Fox and his companions, who, when they were called before him, desired him with a loud voice, and a vehement emotion of body, to *tremble at the word of the Lord.* However sarcastical this appellation may be, when considered in its origin, the members of this sect are willing to adopt it, provided it be rightly understood; they prefer nevertheless, to be called in allusion to that doctrine that is the fundamental principle of their association, *Children*, or *Confessors of light.* In their conversation and intercourse with each other, they use no other term of appellation than that of *Friend* [*h*].

This sect had its rise in England, in those unhappy times of confusion, anarchy, and civil discord, when every political or religious fanatic, that had formed new plans of government, or invented new systems of theology, came forth with his novelties to public view, and propagated them with impunity among a fickle and unthinking multitude.

been at great pains to represent Grotius, their hero and their oracle, as a particular admirer of the constitution and government of the church of England, which he preferred before all other forms of ecclesiastical polity. See what Le Clerc has published on this subject at the end of the edition of Grotius' book, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, which he gave at the Hague in the year 1724, p. 376.

[*g*] See George Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, p. 23.—Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 32.

[*h*] Sewel, *loc. cit.* p. 624.

multitude. Its parent and founder was George Fox [*i*], a shoemaker, of a dark and melancholy complexion, and of a visionary and enthusiastic turn of mind. About the year 1647, which was the twenty-third year of his age, he began to stroll through several counties in England, giving himself out for a person divinely inspired, and exhorting

☞ [*i*] The anonymous writer of a letter to Dr. Formey, F. R. S. published by Nicol, seems much offended at Mr. Formey on account of his calling George Fox, a man of a turbulent spirit, &c. He tells us, on the contrary, that from all the information worthy of credit which he was able to procure, it appears, that Fox was "a man of so meek, contented, easy, steady, and tender a disposition, that it was a pleasure to be in his "company, that he exercised no authority but over evil, and that "every where, and in all, but with love, compassion, and long "suffering." This account he takes from Penn; and it is very probable that he has looked no farther, unless it be to the curious portrait which Thomas Ellwood, another Quaker, has given of Fox, a portrait in which there is such an affected jingle of words, as shews the author to have been more attentive to the arrangement of his sentences, than to a true exhibition of the character of his original; for we are told by Ellwood that this same George Fox was deep in divine knowledge, powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer, quick in discerning, sound in judgment *(risum teneatis, amici)*,—manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, weighty in communication, &c. &c. After having thus painted George after the *fancy* of his two Brethren (for fancy is the quaker's fountain of light and truth), the letter writer observes, that Dr. Formey has taken his account of George's turbulence and fanaticism from Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*. As Mosheim then is dead, and cannot defend himself, may I be permitted to beg of this anonymous letter writer, who appears to be a candid and rational man, to cast an eye upon Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, and to follow this *meek, courteous*, and *modest* George, running like a wild man through several counties, refusing homage to his sovereign, interrupting the ministers in the public celebration of divine service at Nottingham, Mansfield, and Market Bosworth? It is remarkable, that the very learned and worthy Dr. Henry More, who was not himself without a strong tincture of enthusiasm, and who looked upon Penn as a pious Christian; treated nevertheless George Fox as a melancholy fanatic, and as one possessed with the Devil. See his *Myst. of Godliness*, B. x. ch. xiii. As also *Schol. in Dialogue*, v. sect. v.

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horting the people to attend to the voice of the *divine word*, that lies hid in the hearts of all men. After the execution of Charles I. when all laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, seemed to be entirely suspended, if not extinct, Fox exerted his fanatical powers with new vigour, and formed more ambitious and extensive views. Having acquired a considerable number of disciples of both sexes, who were strongly infected with his wild enthusiasm, he excited great tumults in several parts of *England:* and in the year 1650, went so far as to disturb the devotion of those that were assembled in the churches for the purposes of public worship, declaring that all such assemblies were useless and unchristian. For these extravagancies, both he and his companions were frequently cast into prison, and chastised, as disturbers of the peace, by the civil magistrate [*k*].

II. The

[*k*] Besides the ordinary writers of the ecclesiastical history of this century, the curious reader will do well to consult Croesii *Historia Quakeriana, Tribus Libris comprehensa,* the second edition of which was published in 8vo at Amsterdam, in the year 1703. A physician named Kolhansius, who was born a Lutheran, but turned quaker, published critical remarks upon this history, under the title of *Dilucidationes,* which were first printed at Amsterdam, in the year 1696. And it must be acknowledged, that there are many inaccuracies in the history of Croesius; it is, however, much less faulty than another history of this sect, which was published at Cologn in 12mo, in the year 1692, under the following title: "Historia abregee "de la naissance et du progres du Kouakerisme avec celle de "ses dogmes;" for the anonymous author of this latter history, instead of relating well attested facts, has compiled without either discernment or choice, such an extravagant medley of truth and falsehood, as is rather adapted to excite laughter than to administer instruction. See the second book of Croesius' *Historia Quakeriana,* p. 322. and 376. as also Le Clerc, *Biblioth. Universelle et Historique,* tom. xxii. p. 53.—The most ample and authentic account of this sect is that which was composed by George Sewel, from a great variety of genuine records, and partly from the papers of Fox, its founder, and published under the following title: "The History of the Christian people called quakers." This work is remarkable both

The first attempts of this sect under Cromwell.

II. The first association of *Quakers*, was composed mostly of visionary fanatics, and of persons that really seemed to be disordered in their brains, and hence they committed many enormities, which the modern Quakers endeavour to alleviate and diminish, but which they neither pretend to justify nor to approve: for the greatest part of them were riotous and tumultuous in the highest degree; and even their female disciples, forgetting the delicacy and decency peculiar to their sex, bore their part in these disorders. They ran like Bacchanals, through the towns and villages, declaiming against Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, and every fixed form of religion; railed at public and stated worship; affronted and mocked the clergy, even in the very exercise of their ministerial

 functions

both for the industry and accuracy which the author has discovered in compiling it. But as Sewel was himself a quaker, so he is sometimes chargeable with concealing, diminishing, or representing under artful colours, many things, which, if impartially related, *must* have appeared dishonourable, and *might* have appeared detrimental, to his community. It must however be granted, that, notwithstanding these defects, Sewel's history is abundantly sufficient to enable an impartial and intelligent reader to form a just and satisfactory idea of this visionary sect. Voltaire has also entertained the public with *Four Letters*, concerning the *Religion*, *Manners*, and *History of the Quakers*, in his *Melanges de Litterature d'Histoire et de Philosophie*, which are written with his usual wit and elegance, but are rather adapted to amuse than instruct. The conversation between him and Andrew Pitt, an eminent quaker in London, which is related in these *Letters*, may be true in general; but to render the account of it still more pleasing, the ingenuous writer has embellished it with effusions of wit and fancy, and even added some particulars, that are rather drawn from imagination than memory. It is from the books already mentioned that the French *Dissertation on the Religion of the Quakers* (which is placed in the third volume of the splendid work, entitled, *Ceremonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tout les Peuples)*, is chiefly compiled, though with less attention and accuracy than might have been expected.—A Lutheran writer, named Frederic Ernest Meis, has given an account of the English quakers in a German work, entitled, *Entwurff der Kirchen-Grdnung and Gebrauche der Quacker in Engeland.*

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functions [*kk*]; trampled upon the laws and upon the authority of the magistrates, under the pretext of being actuated by a divine inpulse; and made use of their pretended inspiration to excite

☞ [*kk*] A female, contrary to the modesty of her sex, came into Whitehall Chapel *stark naked,* in the midst of public worship, when Cromwell was there present. Another came into the Parliament-house, with a trenchard in her hand, which she broke in pieces, saying, *Thus shall he be broke in pieces.* Thomas Adams, having complained to the Protector of the imprisonment of some of his friends, and not finding redress he took off his cap and tore it in pieces, saying, *So shall thy government be torn from thee and thy house.* Several pretending an extraordinary message from heaven, went about the streets, denouncing the judgments of God against the Protector; and his council; and one came to the door of the Parliament-house with a drawn sword, and wounded several, saying, *He was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that sat in that house.* The most extravagant quaker that appeared in this time, was James Naylor, formerly an officer, a man of parts, and so much admired by these fanatics, that they blasphemously styled him, *The everlasting son of righteousness; the prince of peace; the only begotten son of God; the fairest among ten thousand.* See Neal's *History of the Puritans;—The life and trial of Naylor,* p. 6, 7, &c. The anonymous author of the *Letter to Dr. Formey,* F. R. S. seems to have lost sight of the state of quakerism in the time of Fox, when he denies that the charge of turbulence and fanaticism can be proved against him or his friends, and gives the gentle denomination of *imprudence* to the extravagancies exhibited by the Quakers under Charles I. and the Commonwealth. The single story of Naylor, who was the convert and Pupil of Fox, the letters, full of blasphemous absurdity, written to this *Rose of Sharon,* this *new Jesus,* by Hannah Stranger, Richard Fairman, and others, shew the horrid vein of fanaticism that ran through this visionary sect. See these letters in the *Life and trial of* Naylor, who, though cruelly scourged, was, however, whipped into his senses, or, at least, brought by his sufferings into a calmer state of mind. See also *Satan Inthroned,* &c. p. 4. & 5. If quakerism be now in England on a more *rational* footing, we may congratulate its members upon the happy change, but at the same time condole with them on the approaching annihilation of their sect; for if *reason* gets in among them, the *spirit* (I mean *their* spirit) will soon be quenched, and fancy being no more the only criterion of truth, the fundamental principle of their existence will be destroyed. In such a catastrophe, the abettors of ancient quakerism will find some resource among the Methodists.

excite the most vehement commotions both in state and church. Hence it is not at all surprising, that the secular arm was at length raised against these pernicious fanatics, and that many of them were severely chastised for their extravagance and folly [*l*]. Cromwell himself, who was, generally speaking, an enemy to no sect, however enthusiastical it might be, entertained uneasy apprehensions from the frantic violence of the Quakers, and therefore, in his first thoughts, formed a resolution to suppress their rising community. But when he perceived that they treated with contempt both his promises and threatenings, and were, in effect too powerful or too headstrong to yield to either, he prudently abstained from the use of force, and contented himself with employing wise measures and precautions to prevent their fomenting sedition among the people, or undermining the foundations of his new sovereignty [*m*].

The progress of this sect under Charles II. and James II.

III. In process of time, the fumes of this excessive fanaticism began to evaporate, and the ardent impetuosity of the rising sect seemed gradually to subside; nor did the *divine light*, of which the Quakers boast, produce such tumults in church and state, as at the first declaration of their celestial pretensions. Under the reign of Charles II. both their religious doctrine and discipline assumed a more regular and permanent form, by the care and industry of Fox, assisted, in this very necessary undertaking, by Robert Barclay, George Keith, and Samuel Fisher, men of learning and abilities, who became, notwithstanding,

[*l*] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 153.—Sewel's *History*, &c. *passim*.

[*m*] Clarendon tells us, in his *History of the Rebellion*, that the Quakers always persevered in their bitter enmity against Cromwell. See Sewel's *History*, book i. p. 91, 113, 148, 139.

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standing, members of this strange community. Fox stood in urgent need of such able assistants; for his gross ignorance had rendered his religion, hitherto, a confused medley of incoherent tenets and visions. The new triumvirate, therefore, used their utmost endeavours to digest these under certain heads, and to reduce them to a sort of theological system [*n*]. But such was the change of times, that the wiser and more moderate Quakers in *England* suffered more vexations, and were involved in greater calamities, than had fallen to the lot of their frantic and turbulent ancestors. These vexations, indeed, were not so much the consequence of their religious principles as of their singular customs and manners in civil life. For they would never give to magistrates those titles of honour and pre-eminence that are designed to mark the respect due to their authority; they also refused obstinately to take the oath of allegiance to their sovereign [*o*], and to pay tithes to the clergy; hence they were looked upon as rebellious subjects, and, on that account, were frequently punished with great severity [*p*]. Under the reign of James II. and more particularly about the year 1685, they began to see more

[*n*] For an account of the life and writings of Barclay, see the *General Dictionary*.—Sewel, in his *History of the Quakers*, gives an ample account of Keith. There is also particular mention made of Fisher, in a German work, intitled, *Unschuldige Nachricht*, 1750, p. 338.

☞ [*o*] This refusal to take the oath of allegiance did not proceed from any disaffection to the government, but from a persuasion that all *oaths* were unlawful, and that *swearing*, even upon the most solemn occasions, was forbidden in the New Testament. They also sincerely believed, that they were as much obliged to obedience by an *affirmation*, which they were willing to make, as by an oath.

[*p*] See a circumstantial account of their sufferings under Charles II. in Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 313, 353, 396, 432, 510, 518, 552, 569.—Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 271.—Sewel, *loc. cit.* passim.

more prosperous days, and to enjoy the sweets of toleration and liberty, which they owed, not to the clemency of the government, but to the friendship of that monarch for the famous William Penn [*q*], who had been employed by him in matters of the utmost moment, and had rendered him signal and important services [*r*]. What James had done, from motives of a personal or political nature, in favour of the Quakers, King William III. confirmed and continued, from a zeal for maintaining the rights of conscience, and advancing the cause of religious liberty. From these motives, he procured a full and ample toleration for dissenters of almost all denominations; and the Quakers, in consequence of this grant,

[*q*] See Sewel's *History of the Quakers.*

☞ [*r*] The indulgence of James II. towards the *Quakers*, and other dissenters from the established church, was, at bottom, founded on a zeal for popery, and designed to favour the Roman Catholics. More particularly the order he sent to the Lord Mayor of London, the 7th of *November* 1687, to dispense with the Quakers not swearing, was evidently designed to open a door to the Roman Catholics to bear offices in the state without a legal qualification.—At the same time it was probable enough, that a personal attachment to the famous William Penn may have contributed to render this monarch more indulgent to this sect than he would otherwise have been. The reasons of this attachment are differently represented. Some suppose it to have been owing to the services of his father in the fleet commanded against the Dutch in the year 1665, by King James, when Duke of York. Others attribute this attachment to his personal services. From the high degree of favour he enjoyed at court, they concluded that he was a concealed papist, and assisted the king in the execution of his designs. That the imputation of popery was groundless, appears from his correspondence with Dr. Tillotson, which is published in the life of Penn, that is prefixed to the first volume of the works of the latter. It is nevertheless certain, that he was very intimate with Father Peters, the hot-headed Jesuit, whose bigotry formed the king's projects, and whose imprudence rendered them abortive. It is also certain, that, in the year 1686 he went over to Holland, in order to persuade the prince of Orange to come into King James' measures.

grant, enjoyed at length, upon a constitutional footing, tranquillity and freedom [*s*].

The propagation of Quakerism out of England.

IV. Fatigued with the vexations and persecution which they suffered in their native country during the reign of Charles II. the Quakers looked about for some distant settlements, where they might shelter themselves from the storm; and with this view began to disseminate their religious principles in various countries. Attempts of this nature were made in Germany, Prussia, France, Italy, Greece, Holland, and Holstein, but with little success; the Dutch, however, were, after much importunity, persuaded to allow a certain number of these enthusiasts to settle in Holland, where they still continue to reside. Multitudes of them also went over to America, and formed settlements there, not long after the first rise of their sect; and it afterwards happened, by a singular concourse of events, that this new world became the chief seat of their prosperity and freedom. William Penn, son of the famous vice-admiral of that name, who embraced Quakerism in the year 1688, received in the year 1680, from Charles II. and from the English parliament, the grant of an ample, fertile, but uncultivated province in America, as a reward for the eminent services of his father. This illustrious Quaker, who was far from being destitute of parts, and whose activity and penetration were accompanied with an uncommon degree of eloquence [*t*], carried over with him into his new dominions a considerable colony of his *Friends* and

[*s*] *Oeuvres de M. de* Voltaire, tom. iv. p. 182.

☞ [*t*] Bishop Burnet, who knew Penn personally, says, that "he was a talking, vain man, who had such a high opi-"nion of his own eloquence, that he thought nothing could "stand before it; and that he had a tedious *luscious* way, that "was not apt to overcome a man's reason, though it might "tire his patience."

and Brethren; and he founded in those distant regions a republic, whose form, laws, and institutions, resembled no other known system of government, whose pacific principles and commercial spirit have long blessed it with tranquillity and opulence, and which still continues in a prosperous and flourishing state [*u*]. The *Quakers* predominate in this colony, both by their influence and their numbers; but all those who acknowledge the existence and providence of one Supreme Being, and shew their respect to that Being, either by external worship, or at least by the regularity of their lives and actions, are admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens in this happy republic. The large province that constitutes its territory was called *Pennsylvania*, from the name of its proprietor; and its capital city was named *Philadelphia*, from the spirit of union and the fraternal love that reigned at first, and is still supposed to prevail more or less, among its inhabitants.

The intestine disputes and contests of the Quakers.

V. Even during the life of their founder, the Quakers, notwithstanding their extraordinary pretensions to fraternal charity and union, were frequently divided into parties, and involved in contests and debates. These debates, indeed, which were carried on in the years 1656, 1661, and 1683, with peculiar warmth, were not occasioned by any doctrines of a religious nature, but by a diversity of opinions about matters of discipline, about certain customs and manners, and other affairs of little moment; and they were generally

[*u*] The laws and charters of the colony of Pennsylvania, may be seen in Rapin's History, Penn's Works, and in other collections of public records; they are also inserted in the *Bibliotheque Britannique*, tom. xv. p. 310. tom. xvi. p. 127.— Penn acquired a great reputation, both by his writings and the active figure he made in life. See the accounts given of him by Sewel and Burnet.

nerally terminated in a short time, and without much difficulty [*w*]. But, after the death of Fox, which happened in the year 1691, some Friends, and more especially George Keith, who was by far the most learned member of the community, excited, by their doctrines, and innovations, new discords of a much more serious and momentous kind than those which had before divided the brethren. This fountain of contention was opened in Pennsylvania, where Keith was charged with erroneous opinions concerning several points of theology, and more particularly concerning the Human Nature of Christ, which he supposed to be two-fold, the one spiritual and celestial, the other corporeal and terrestrial [*x*]. This and other inventions of Keith would perhaps have passed without censure, among a people who reduce the whole of religion to fancy and a kind of spiritual instinct, had not this learned man animadverted, with a certain degree of severity, upon some of the fantastic notions of the American brethren, and opposed in a more particular manner, their method of converting the whole history of Christ's life and sufferings into a mere allegory, or symbolical representation of the duties of Christianity. The European Quakers dare not so far presume upon the indulgence of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, as to deny openly the *reality* of the history of the life, mediation, and sufferings of Christ; but in America, where they have nothing to fear, they are said to express themselves without ambiguity, on this subject, and to maintain publicly, that Christ never existed, but in the hearts of the *faithful*. This point was debated between Keith and

[*w*] See Sewel's *History of the Quakers.*

☞ [*x*] *Ceremonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du monde,* tom. iv. p. 141.—Croesii *Historia Quakeriania,* lib. iii. p. 446.

and his adversaries, in several general assemblies of the sect held in England, and was at length brought before the parliament. The contest was terminated in the year 1695, by the excommunication of Keith and his adherents, which so exasperated this famous Quaker [*y*], that he returned some years after this, into the bosom of the English church, and died in its communion [*z*]. His friends and followers, continued for a long time, to hold their assemblies, and exercise their religion in a state of separation from the rest of the sect; but now, if we may believe public fame, they are reconciled with their brethren [*a*].

VI. The

☞ [*y*] Bishop Burnet, who was certainly better acquainted with the history of Keith,) with whom he had been educated) than Dr. Mosheim, attributes his return to the church of England, to a much worthier motive than irritation and resentment. He tells us that Keith, after the American quakers had appeared to him as little better than Deists, opposed them so warmly, that they sent him back to England. Here he opened a new meeting, and by a printed summons called together the whole party to convince them of these errors. "He continued those meetings, says the bishop, being still, in outward appearance a quaker, for some years; till having prevailed as far as he saw any appearance of success, he laid aside their exterior, and was reconciled to the church." See Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 249.

[*z*] See Burnet, ibid.—Sewel's account of the troubles occasioned by Keith, in his *History of the Quakers*. But Sewel was either unacquainted with the true nature and state of this controversy, which, as he was an illiterate man, may well have been the case, or he has given designedly a false and ambiguous representation of the matter. See the life of Custer, in the *Europa Erudita* of Rahtlefus *, where this controversy, is placed in its true light. Custer was a man of probity, who lived at that time in America, and was an eye witness of these divisions.

[*a*] See Roger's *Christian Quaker*, published in 4to at London, in the year 1699;—as also, *The Quakers a Divided people*, published in 1708.—*Unschuldig. Nachricht.* 1744. p. 496.

* This work is written in German.

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The religion of the Quakers considered in a general point of view.

VI. The religion of the sect called *Quakers*, has an air of novelty that strikes at first sight, but, when viewed closely, it will appear to be nothing more than a certain modification of that famous *Mystic theology*, which arose so early as the second century, was fostered and embellished by the luxuriant fancy of Origen, and passing through various hands assumed different aspects until it was adopted by the *Quakers*, who set off the motley form with new additions of their own invention. Fox, indeed, is not chargeable with these inventions; his ignorant and inelegant simplicity places him beyond the reach of suspicion in this matter; but it is at the same time, undoubtedly certain, that all his doctrine concerning the *internal word*, and the divine light within its operations and effects, was either borrowed from the writings of the Mystics, which were, at that time, in the hands of many, or at least picked up from the conversation and expressions of some persons of the Mystic order. The tenets, however, which this blunt and illiterate man expressed in a rude, confused, and ambiguous manner, were dressed up and presented under a different form by the masterly hands of Barclay, Keith, Fisher, and Penn, who digested them with such sagacity and art, that they assumed the aspect of a regular system. The *Quakers* may therefore be deemed with reason the principal branch of the *Mystics*, as they not only embraced the precepts of their *hidden wisdom*, but even saw its whole tendency, and adopted, without hesitation, all its consequences [*b*].

VII. The

[*b*] Most people are of opinion, that we are to learn the true doctrine and sentiments of the Quakers from the Catechism of Robert Barclay, and more especially from his *Apology for the true Christian Divinity*, &c. which was published at London in 4to, in the year 1676, and was translated into several foreign

VII. The fundamental doctrine of Quakerism, from whence all their other tenets are derived, is

The principal tenet of the Quakers.

reign languages. Nor do I deny, that the members of this sect are very desirous that we should judge of their religious sentiments by the doctrine that is exhibited in these books. But if those who are disposed to judge by this rule, go so far as to maintain, that these books contain all the religious tenets that have formerly been advanced, or are at present adopted by the people called quakers, they may be refuted without difficulty, from a great variety of books and records, of unquestionable authenticity. It is necessary to enter into the true spirit of Barclay's writings. This ingenious man appeared as a Patron and Defender of quakerism, and not as a professed teacher or expositor of its various doctrines; and he interpreted and modified the opinions of this sect after the manner of a champion or advocate, who undertakes the defence of an odious cause. How then does he go to work? In the first place, he observes an entire silence in relation to those fundamental principles of Christianity, concerning which it is of great consequence to know the real opinions of the quakers; and thus he exhibits a system of theology that is evidently lame and imperfect. For it is the peculiar business of a prudent apologist to pass over in silence points that are scarcely susceptible of a plausible defence, and to enlarge upon those only which the powers of genius and eloquence may be able to embellish and exhibit in an advantageous point of view. It is observable, in the second place, that Barclay touches in a slight, superficial, and hasty manner, some tenets, which, when amply explained, had exposed the quakers to severe censures; and in this he discovers plainly the weakness of his cause. Lastly, to omit many other observations that might be made here, this writer employs the greatest dexterity and art in softening and modifying those invidious doctrines which he cannot conceal, and dare not disavow; for which purpose he carefully avoids all those phrases and terms that are made use of by the quakers, and are peculiar to their sect, and expresses their tenets in ordinary language, in terms of a vague and indefinite nature, and in a style that casts a sort of mask over their natural aspect. At this rate the most enormous errors may be held with impunity; for there is no doctrine, however absurd, to which a plausible air may not be given by following the insidious method of Barclay; and it is well known that even the doctrine of Spinoza was, with a like artifice, dressed out, and disguised by some of his disciples. The other writers of this sect have declared their sentiments with more freedom, perspicuity and candour, particularly the famous William Penn and George Whitehead, whose writings deserve an attentive

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is that famous and ancient opinion of the Mystic school, "*That there lies concealed in the minds* "*of all men a certain portion of divine reason, a* "*spark of the same wisdom that exists in the Su-* "*preme Being.* Therefore, those who are desirous "of arriving at true felicity and eternal salvation, "must, according to their system, by self con- "verse, contemplation, and perpetual efforts to "subdue their sensual affections, endeavour to "draw forth, kindle, and inflame, that *divine,* "*hidden spark,* which is overpowered by the "*darkness of the flesh,* and suffocated, as it were, "by that mass of matter with which it is sur- "rounded. They who observe this rule, will "feel, say the Quakers, a divine glow of warmth "and light, and hear a celestial and divine voice "proceeding from the inward recesses of their "souls; and by this light, and this voice, they "will be led to all truth, and be perfectly assured "of their union with the Supreme Being." This hidden treasure, which is possessed, though not improved, by all the human race, bears different denominations in the language of this fanatical sect. They frequently call it *divine light,* sometimes *a ray of the eternal wisdom,* at others, the *heavenly Sophia,* whom they suppose married to a mortal, and whose wedding garments some of their writers describe with the most gaudy and pompous

attentive perusal preferably to all the other productions of that community. There is, among other writings of these eminent quakers, one in whose composition they were both concerned, and which was published at London in the year 1674, under the following title: *The Christian Quaker and his divine testimony vindicated by Scripture, reason, and authority, against the injurious attempts that have been lately made by several adversaries.* The first part of this book was written by Penn, and the second by Whitehead. There is also in Sewel's History a confession of faith, that was published by the Quakers in the year 1693, during their controversy with Keith; but this confession is composed with great prudence, and is full of ambiguity.

pompous eloquence. But the most usual epithets given to this spiritual treasure are those of the *internal word* and of Christ *within*; for as, on the one hand, they adopt that doctrine of Origen, and the ancient mystics, which represents Christ as the eternal reason, or wisdom of God; and, on the other, maintain, that all men are endowed naturally with a certain portion of the divine wisdom; they are thus directly led to affirm, that Christ, or the *word* of God, dwells and speaks in the hearts of all men [c].

The tenets that flow from this fundamental doctrine.

VIII. All the sigularities and wonderful fancies, that are to be found in the religious system of the Quakers, are the immediate consequences of the fundamental principle now mentioned. For since Christ resides in the inward frame of every mortal; it follows, "*First*, That the whole "of religion consists in calling off the mind from "external objects, in weakening the influence "and ascendant of the outward senses, and in "every one's entering deeply into the inmost "recesses of his heart, and listening attentively "to the divine instructions and commands that "the *internal word*, or Christ *within* delivers "there; *secondly*, That the *external word*, *i. e.* "the holy Scripture, neither points out the way "of salvation, nor leads men to it; since it only "consists of *letters* and *words*, which being *void* "*of life*, have not a degree of efficacy and power "sufficient to *illuminate* the human mind, and "to unite it to God. The only advantage that, "in their opinion, results from a perusal of the "holy Scriptures, is, that they excite the mind

[c] It is, nevertheless, to be observed, that the modern Quakers, as appears from the writings of Martyn and others, are, generally speaking, ignorant of the system of their ancestors, and perpetually confound the innate divine light above mentioned, with the operations of the Holy Ghost in the minds of the faithful.

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" to listen to the dictates of the *internal word*,
" and to go to the school of Christ, who teaches
" *within them;* or, to express the same thing in
" other words, they look upon the Bible as a
" mute master, who, by signs and figures, points
" out and discovers that *living master* and effec-
" tual guide who dwells in the mind. *Thirdly*,
" That they who are without this written word,
" such as the Jews, Mahometans, and savage na-
" tions, are not on that account, either removed
" from the path, or destitute of the doctrine of
" salvation, though they indeed want this infe-
" rior and subordinate help to its attainment.
" For if they only attended to this *inward teacher*,
" who always *speaketh* when the *man* is *silent*,
" they will learn abundantly, from him, all that is
" necessary to be known and practised in order
" to their final happiness; that of consequence,
" *fourthly*, The kingdom of Christ is of a vast
" extent, and comprehends the whole race of
" mankind. For all have Christ within them,
" and therefore, even those who are deprived
" of the means of knowledge, and live in the
" grossest ignorance of the Christian religion, are
" capable of obtaining through him, wisdom
" here, and happiness hereafter. Hence also
" they conclude, that those who lead virtuous
" lives, and resist the impulse of their lusts and
" passions, whether they be Jews, Mahometans,
" or Polytheists, shall be united to God in this
" life, by means of the Christ that lies hidden
" within them, and shall enjoy the fruits of this
" union in the life to come. To these tenets
" they add in the *fifth* place, That a heavy, dark
" body, composed of corrupt matter, hinders
" men from discerning, with ease, this *hidden*
" Christ, and from hearing his divine and in-
" ternal voice. Therefore they look upon it as
" a matter of the highest importance, to watch
" against

"against the pernicious consequences of this "union between the soul and body, that the lat- "ter may not blunt the powers of the former, "disturb its tranquillity, or, by the ministry of "the outward senses, fill it with the images of "vain, sensible, and external objects." The consideration now mentioned engages them, *lastly*, "To look upon it as utterly incredible, "that God should ever again shut up, in the "same material habitation, the souls that are set "free by death from their bodily prison; and "therefore they affirm, that the Gospel-account "of the resurrection of the body, must either be "interpreted in a figurative sense, or be under- "stood as pointing out the creation of a new and "celestial body [*d*]."

Their doctrine concerning Christ.

IX. It appears evidently from all this, that the existence of the man Christ Jesus together with the circumstantial accounts we have in Scripture of his divine origin, his life, and actions, his satisfaction, merits and sufferings, make no essential part of the theological system of the Quakers, which is built upon a different foundation, and derives the whole plan and method of salvation from the Christ *within*. Hence several members of that sect, as we learn from writers of unquestionable authority, went such an extravagant length as to maintain, that the accounts we have of Jesus Christ, in the Gospel-history do not relate to the Son of God, who took upon him the nature of man, but to that Christ *within*, whose operations are recorded by the sacred historians in a figurative and allegorical

[*d*] The Quakers adopt all these tenets; they are at least obliged to adopt them, unless they renounce the fundamental principles of their system. We have omitted the mention of those points about which they dispute among themselves, that we may not appear to take pleasure in representing them under odious colours.

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language. This opinion, if we may confide in the testimonies of unexceptionable witnesses, is so far from having lost its credit among them, that it is still openly professed by the American Quakers. Those of *Europe*, whether from the force of conviction or the suggestions of prudence, differ entirely from their brethren in this respect; they hold, "That the divine *wisdom*, or *reason*, "resided in the *Son* of the Virgin Mary, and "conveyed its instructions to mankind by his "ministry;" and they profess to believe, "that "this divine man *really* did and suffered what is "recorded concerning him by the sacred writers." It is nevertheless certain, that they express themselves in a very ambiguous manner on many points that relate to the history of the divine Saviour; and, in a more particular manner, their notions concerning the fruits of his sufferings, and the efficacy of his death, are so vague and obscure, that it is very difficult to know what is their real opinion about the degree of this efficacy, and the nature of these fruits. It is still further worthy of observation, that the European Quakers, though they acknowledge the *reality* of the life, actions and sufferings of Christ, yet do not entirely reject the allegorical interpretation of our Saviour's History mentioned above; for they consider the events that happened to Christ, in the course of his ministry here upon earth, as the signs and emblems of those scenes through which the *mental* Christ must pass, in order to render us partakers of eternal salvation. Hence they talk in high-swoln and pompous strains (like their models the Mystics) of the birth, life, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ *in the hearts of the faithful.*

Their religious discipline and worship.

X. The religious discipline, worship, and practice of the Quakers, flow from the same original source from which, as we have already observed,

served, their doctrine and tenets were immediately derived. They meet for the purposes of religion on the same days which are set apart for the celebration of public worship in all other Christian churches; but they neither observe festivals, nor use external rites nor ceremonies, nor suffer religion, which they place entirely in the mental worship of the *hidden* Christ, to be shackled and cramped by positive institutions. All the members of their community, whether male or female, have an equal right to teach and exhort in their public meetings; for who, say they, will presume to exclude from the liberty of speaking to the *Brethren*, those persons in whom Christ dwells, and by whom he speaks? They reject, the use of prayers, hymns, and the various outward forms of devotion, by which the public worship of other Christian churches is distinguished; and this, indeed, is an instance of their consistency with themselves, as it is the immediate consequence of their religious system; for, in their judgment, it is not the person who expresses his desires in a set form of words, that can be said to pray truly, but he on the contrary, who, by a deep recollection, withdraws his mind from every outward object, reduces it to a state of absolute tranquillity, silences every inward motion and affection, and plunges it, as it were, into the abyss of Deity. They neither observe the institution of *Baptism*, nor do they renew the remembrance of Christ's death, and of the benefits that result from it, by the celebration of the *Eucharist*. They look upon these two institutions as merely Judaical, and allege, that our Saviour observed them for no other end than to shew for once, in a visible manner, the mystical purification of the soul, under the figure of baptism, and the spiritual nourishment of the inward man, under that of the Eucharist.

CENT. XVII. SECT. II. PART II.

Their moral precepts.

XI. The moral doctrine of the Quakers, which is remarkable for its excessive austerity, is chiefly comprehended in the two following precepts: *First*, "That the faithful are ever to avoid entirely every thing that tends to gratify the external senses and passions, every thing that can be ranked under the denomination of sensual or bodily pleasure; or, if such rigorous abstinence be impossible in this present state, and contrary to the evident laws of nature, such pleasure is to be so modified and restrained by reason and meditation, as to prevent its debasing and corrupting the mind. For as the whole attention of the mind must be given to the voice and orders of the internal guide, so, for this purpose, all possible care must be taken to remove it from the contagion of the body, and from all intimate and habitual commerce with corporeal objects." By the *second* leading precept of morality among the Quakers, all imitation of those external manners, that go by the name of civility and politeness, as also several matters of form, usual in the conduct of life, and in the connexions of human society, are strictly prohibited as unlawful. Hence they are easily distinguished from all other Christian sects, by their outward deportment and their manner of life. They never salute any person they meet in their way, nor employ in their conversation the usual manner of address, and the appellations that civility and custom have rendered a matter of decency, at least, if not of duty; they never express their respect for magistrates, or persons in authority, either by bodily gestures, titles of honour, or in general by any of the marks of homage that are paid them by persons of all other denominations. They carry their pacific sentiments to such an extravagant length as to renounce the right of self-defence, and let pass with impunity

impunity, and even without resistance, the attacks that are made on their possessions, their reputation, nay, on their lives. They refuse to confirm their testimonies by an oath, to appear in behalf of their property before a civil tribunal, or to accuse those who have injured them. To these negative parts of their external conduct, they add peculiar circumstances of a positive kind, that discover the same austere, stiff, proud, and formal spirit; for they distinguish themselves, in a striking manner, from the rest of their fellow-citizens, by the gravity of their aspect, the rustic simplicity of their apparel, the affected tone of their voice, the stiffness of their conversation, and the frugality of their tables. It is, however, affirmed by persons of credit, who are eye-witnesses of what passes among the members of this sect, that the modern, and more especially the English Quakers, whom trade has furnished with the means of luxury, have departed from this rigid and austere manner of life, and daily grow more reconciled to the outward pleasures and enjoyments of the world. These more sociable Quakers are also said to modify and explain the theology of their ancestors, in such a manner as to render it more rational than it was in its primitive state. At the same time it is certain, that many of the members of this sect have either a false notion, or no notion at all, of that ancient theology.

The form of ecclesiastical government.

XII. The principles of this community seem to exclude the very idea of order, discipline, and ecclesiastical government. Its leading members, however, began to perceive in process of time, that without laws and rulers it could not subsist, but must inevitably fall into confusion and ruin. They accordingly erected a council of elders, who discuss and determine matters of a doubtful or difficult nature, and use all possible care and di-

ligence in inspecting the conduct of the Brethren, and in preventing whatever they look upon as prejudicial to the interests of the community. The names of those that enter into the state of wedlock are given in to those leading members, who also keep an exact register of the births and deaths that happen in their society. They exercise, moreover, a certain degree of authority over those who speak in their meetings; since it is well known, that in some places these speakers shew their discourses to the ruling elders before they deliver them, in order that they may judge whether or no they are fit to be repeated in public. For since the abuse that was made of the unbounded liberty that every individual had to instruct and exhort the congregation, and to speak and harangue when the pretended spirit moved them, new regulations have been observed; and this liberty has been considerably modified, in several places, to avoid the mockery, contempt, and censure, to which the community was constantly exposed, by the absurd, incoherent, and insipid discourses of many of its members. There are also in some of the more considerable congregations, and more especially in those that are erected at *London*, certain persons, whose vocation it is to be always prepared to speak to the people, in case none of the congregation find themselves *inwardly moved* or disposed to perform that office. The appointment of these professed speakers was designed to remedy an inconveniency that frequently happened in the Quaker-meetings, even that the whole assembly was dismissed without either instruction or exhortation, because none found themselves *moved* to speak. It is indeed to be observed, that this public discourse is not looked upon by the Quakers as an essential part of their religion and worship; for the *Brethren* and *Sisters* do not meet that they may hear the words of an external teacher,

teacher, but that they may listen with recollection to the voice of the *divine instructor*, which every one carries with him in his own breast, or, to use their own phrase, that they may *commune with themselves*. Nevertheless, as these mute assemblies excite the laughter of their adversaries, and expose them to the reproach of enthusiasm and frenzy, they have, on that account, appointed fixed speakers, to whom they give a small salary, that the whole time of their meeting may not be passed in silence [*d*].

The Quakers have, annually, a general assembly of the whole sect, which meets at *London* the week before Whitsunday, and is composed of deputies from all their particular congregations. They still complain, notwithstanding the toleration they enjoy, of certain severities and hardship; but these are entirely owing to their obstinate refusal to pay those tithes, which, by the laws of the land, are designed for the support of the established church.

☞ [*d*] The truth of this account of fixed speakers appointed to discourse and exhort, when the spirit does not move any of the other brethren, and rewarded for their pains, is denied by the writer of the Letter to Dr. Formey; we leave the decision of the matter to those who have an opportunity of examining the fact.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Mennonites, or Anabaptists.

CENT. XVII. SECT. II. PART II.

The various fortunes of the Mennonites.

I. AFTER various scenes of trial and perplexity, the Mennonites at length found, during this century, the tranquillity they had long sought after in vain. They arrived, indeed, at this state of repose, by very slow steps; for though in the preceding age, they were admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens in the *United Provinces*, yet it was a long time before their solicitations and pleas of innocence could engage the *English*, the *Swiss*, and *Germans*, to receive them in their bosom, and to abrogate the laws that had been enacted against them. The civil magistrates, in those countries, had still before their eyes the enormities committed by the ancient Anabaptists; and besides, they could not persuade themselves, that a set of men, who looked upon all oaths as *sinful*, and declared that magistracy and penal laws have no place in the kingdom of Christ, had the qualities and sentiments that are necessary to constitute a good citizen. Hence we find, even in this century, several examples of great severities employed against the Anabaptists, and some instances of even capital punishments being inflicted on them [*e*]. But now, that the demonstrations of their innocence and probity are clear and unquestionable,

[*e*] The severities exercised in Switzerland against the Mennonites are recorded by Ottius, in his *Annal. Anabapt.* p. 337. and more particularly those that they suffered in the year 1693, by Hottinger, in his German work, entitled, *Schweizerische Kirchen-Historie*, vol. i. p. 1101. nor even in this present century have they been treated more mildly in the canton of Bern, as appears from Schyn's *Historia Mennonitar.* cap. x. p. 289. in which we find the letters of the States-General of the United Provinces interceding with that Canton in their behalf. A severe

tionable, they enjoy the sweets of security and repose, not only in the United Provinces, but also in England, Germany, and Prussia, where they procure by their honest industry, and particularly by their application to trade and commerce, an ample subsistence for themselves and their families.

Union and concord restored among them.

II. The wiser members of this community easily perceived, that their external tranquillity would neither be stable nor permanent, unless their intestine discords were removed, and their ancient disputes about trifling and unimportant matters charitably terminated. They accordingly used their most zealous endeavours to diffuse the sweets of charity and concord throughout their sect; nor were their labours altogether unsuccessful. In the year 1630, a considerable part of the Anabaptists of Flanders, Germany, and Friesland, concluded their debates in a conference held at Amsterdam, and entered into the bonds of fraternal communion, each, notwithstanding, reserving to themselves a liberty of retaining certain opinions. This association was renewed, and confirmed by new resolutions in the year 1649, by the Anabaptists of Flanders and Germany, between whom great divisions had reigned [*f*]. All these formed a bond of union with those branches of the sect that were most distinguished by their moderation; and they mitigated and corrected, in various respects, the rigorous laws of Menno and his successors.

III.

vere persecution was set on foot against them in the Palatinate in the year 1694, which was suspended by the intercession of William III. king of Great Britain. See Schyn, *ibid*, p. 265. Bishop Burnet mentions some instances of Anabaptists suffering death in England during the seventeenth century, in the first volume of his History of his own times.

[*f*] Herm. Schyn, *Plenior Deductio Historiæ Mennonit.* p. 41, 42.

CENT. XVII. SECT. II. PART II.

Different sects of Anabaptists.

III. Therefore, at this day the whole community may be divided into two large sects, the one comprehending the more *Refined* Anabaptists, remarkable for their austerity, who are also called *Flemings* or *Flandrians;* and the others called (in the Dutch language) the *Grosser* Anabaptists, who are of a milder complexion, and an easier and more moderate character, and go commonly under the denomination of *Waterlandians.* We have given already a particular account of the origin and etymology of these denominations. Each of these sects is subdivided into a variety of branches, more especially the *refined* and austere Anabaptists; who have not only produced two separate societies, distinguished by the names of *Groningenists* [*g*], and *Dantzigers,* or *Prussians,* [*h*], but also a considerable number of more obscure and inconsiderable factions, which differ in doctrine, discipline, and manners; and agree in nothing but the name of Anabaptists, and in some ancient opinions that have been unanimously embraced by all the members of that sect. All the refined *Anabaptists* are the rigid followers of Simon Menno, and stedfastly maintain, though not all with the same degree of severity and rigour, the sentiments of their chief on the following points—the human nature of Christ—the obligation that binds us to wash the feet of strangers in consequence of our Saviour's command—the necessity of excommunicating and of avoiding, as one would do the plague, not only avowed sinners; but also those who depart, even in some light instances from the simplicity of their ancestors, and are tainted with any appearance of evil—the contempt that is due to

[*g*] So called, because they met at certain stated times in the city of Groningen.

[*h*] They derive this denomination from their adopting the manners and discipline of the Prussians.

to human learning, and other matters of less moment [*i*]. It is however to be observed, that in our times, some of the congregations of this *refined* sect have been gradually departing from this austere system, and are proceeding, though with a slow pace, towards the opinions and discipline of the more moderate Anabaptists.

The external form of the Mennonite church.

IV. All these Anabaptists adopt a form of ecclesiastical government and discipline, that is administered by three distinct orders of persons. The first order is that of the *Bishops* or *Presbyters*, who always preside in the consistory, and are alone invested with the power of administering the sacraments of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. The second is that of the *Teachers*, who are set apart for the purposes of public instruction, and the celebration of divine worship. The third comprehends the *Deacons*, who are chosen out of both sexes. These three orders compose the consistory, or council, by which the church is governed. All matters of importance are proposed, examined, and decided, in the meetings of the Brethren. The ministers are elected to their holy office by *their* suffrages, and are all, the *Deacons* excepted, installed by public prayers, attended with imposition of hands.

The Uckewallists.

V. Among the inferior sects of the rigid Anabaptists, the most considerable is that which passes under the denomination of *Uckewallists*, and is so called after its founder Uke Walles, a native of *Friesland*. This rustic, rigid, and ignorant sectary, not only exhorted his followers to maintain the primitive and austere doctrine of Menno, without suffering it to be softened or altered in the smallest degree, but also took it into his head to propagate, jointly with another innovator, named

[*i*] See a German work entitled, *Nachrichten von dem gegenwardigen Zustande der Mennoniten*, by Reus. 1743.

named John Leus, in the year 1637, a singular opinion concerning the salvation of Judas, and the rest of Christ's murderers. To give an air of plausibility to the favourable opinion he entertained concerning the eternal state of this arch-apostate, he invented the following odd hypothesis, "That the period of time that ex-"tended from the birth of Christ to the de-"scent of the Holy Ghost, and was, as it were, "the distinctive term that separated the Jewish "from the Christian dispensation, was a time of "deep ignorance and darkness, during which "the Jews were void of light, and entirely desti-"tute of divine succour; and that, of conse-"quence, the sins and enormities that were com-"mitted during this interval were in a great "measure excusable, and could not merit the "severest displays of the divine justice." This idle fiction, met with no indulgence, either from the Mennonites on the one hand, or from the magistrates of Groningen on the other; for the former excluded its inventor from their communion, and the latter banished him from their city. He fixed his residence in the adjacent province of East-Friesland, and there drew after him a considerable number of disciples, whose descendants still subsist in the neighbourhood of Groningen, Friesland, and also in Lithuania and Prussia, and have their own religious assemblies, separate from those of the other Mennonites. As they have little intercourse with any but those of their own communion, it is not an easy matter to know, with certainty, whether they persevere in the singular opinion that proved so detrimental to the interest of their leader. It is at least certain, that they follow scrupulously the steps of their original founder MENNO, and exhibit a lively image of the primitive manners and constitution of the Mennonites. They re-baptize all those who leave

leave other Christian churches to embrace their communion. Their apparel is mean beyond expression, and they avoid every thing that has the most distant appearance of elegance or ornament. They let their beards grow to an enormous length; their hair, uncombed, lies in a disorderly manner on their shoulders; their countenances are marked with the strongest lines of dejection and melancholy; and their habitations and household furniture are such as are only fitted to answer the demands of mere necessity. Such moreover is the severity of their discipline, that any member of their community, who departs in the smallest instance from this austere rule, is immediately excluded from the society, and avoided by all the Brethren as a public pest. Their inspectors or bishops, whom they distinguish from the ministers, whose office is to preach and instruct, are chosen by an assembly composed of all the congregations of the sect. The ceremony of washing the feet of strangers, who come within the reach of their hospitality, is looked upon by them as a rite of divine institution. We shall not enlarge upon the other circumstances of their ritual, but only observe, that they prevent all attempts to alter or modify their religious discipline, by preserving their people from every thing that bears the remotest aspect of learning and science; from whatever, in a word, might have a tendency to enlighten their devout ignorance.

The Waterlandians.

VI. The more moderate who are called the *Grosser*, or less scrupulous Anabaptists, are composed of certain inhabitants of *Waterland*, *Flanders*, *Friesland*, and *Germany*, who entered into an association, as has been already observed, and commonly pass under the denomination of *Waterlandians*. This community has abandoned the severe discipline, and singular opinions of Menno, whom,

whom, nevertheless, they generally respect as their primitive parent and founder, and have advanced a step nearer than the other Anabaptists to the religious doctrines and customs of other Christian churches. They are, however, divided into two distinct sects which bear the respective denominations of *Frieslanders* and *Waterlandians*, and are both without bishops, employing no other ecclesiastical ministers than *Presbyters* and *Deacons*. Each congregation of this sect is independent on all foreign jurisdiction, having its own ecclesiastical council, or consistory, which is composed of *Presbyters* and *Deacons*. The supreme spiritual power is, nevertheless, in the hands of the people, without whose consent nothing of importance can be carried into execution. Their Presbyters are, generally speaking, men of learning, and applying themselves with success to the study of physic and philosophy. And there is a public professor supported, at present, by the sect at *Amsterdam*, for the instruction of their youth in the various branches of philosophy and sacred erudition.

The Galenists and Apostoolians.

VII. One of these Waterlandian sects was divided in the year 1664, into two factions, of which the one were called *Galenists*, and the other *Apostoolians*, from their respective leaders. The founder of the former was Galen Abraham Haan, a doctor of physic, and pastor of a Mennonite congregation at *Amsterdam*, who has received the applause even of his enemies, on account of his uncommon penetration and eloquence. This eminent Anabaptist, in imitation of the Arminians, considered the Christian religion as a system that laid much less stress upon faith than upon practice; and he was for receiving into the communion of the Mennonites all those who acknowledged the divine origin of the books of the Old and New Testament, and led holy

holy and virtuous lives. Such, in his judgment, were true Christians, and had an undoubted right to all the rights and privileges that belong to that character. These comprehensive terms of communion were peculiarly favourable to his own theological sentiments, since his notions concerning Christ's divinity, and the salvation of mankind by his death and merits, were very different from those of the Mennonites, and coincided a good deal with the Socinian system.

Several persons opposed the sentiments of this Latitudinarian, and more especially Samuel Apostool, an eminent pastor among the Mennonites at *Amsterdam*, who not only defended with the utmost zeal, the doctrine generally received among the Mennonites, in relation to the divinity of Christ and the fruits of his death, but also maintained that ancient hypothesis of a visible and glorious church of Christ upon earth, that was peculiar to this sect [*k*]. Thus a controversy was kindled, which produced the division now mentioned; a division which the zealous efforts of several of the wisest and most respectable members of this community have hitherto proved insufficient to heal. The *Galenists* are not less disposed than the Arminians to admit, as members of their community, all those who call themselves Christians; and they are the only sect of the Anabaptists who reject the denomination of Mennonites. The *Apostoolians*, on the contrary, admit to their communion those only who profess to believe all the points of doctrine which are contained in their public confession of faith [*l*].

[*k*] For a more particular account of these two Mennonites, see Schyn's *Deductio plenior Histor. Mennonit.* cap. xv. p. 318. and xviii. p. 237.

[*l*] Casp. Commelini *Descriptio Urbis Amstelodami*, tom. i. p. 500.—Stoupa's *Religion des Hollandois*, p. 20.—Benthem's *Hollandischer Schulund Kirchen-Staat*, p. i. ch. xix. p. 830.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Socinians and Arians.

CENT. XVII. SECT. II. PART II.

The flourishing sate of the Socinians.

I. ABOUT the commencement of this century, the sect of the Socinians seemed to be well established, and their affairs were even in a flourishing situation. In *Transylvania* and *Lucko* they enjoyed the liberty of holding, without molestation, their religious assemblies, and professing publicly their theological opinions. The advantages that attended their situation in *Poland* were still more considerable; for they had at *Racow* a public seminary of learning, which was furnished with professors eminently distinguished by their erudition and genius, together with a press for the publication of their writings; they had also a considerable number of congregations in that district, and were supported by the patronage of several persons of the highest distinction. Elated with this scene of prosperity, they began to form more extensive views, and aimed at enlarging the borders of their community, and procuring it patrons and protectors in other countries. There are in being authentic records, from which it appears, that they sent emissaries with this view, about the commencement of this century, into *Holland*, *England*, *Germany*, and *Prussia*, who endeavoured to make proselytes to Socinianism in these countries, among men of learning and men in power. For it is remarkable, that the Socinians, in propagating their religious principles, have always followed a quite different method from that which has been observed by other sects. It has been the general practice of sectaries and innovators to endeavour to render themselves popular, and to begin by gaining the multitude to their side; but the disciples of Socinus, who

who are perpetually exalting the dignity, prerogatives, and authority of reason, have this peculiarity in their manner of proceeding, that they are at very little pains to court the favour of the people, or to make proselytes to their cause among those who are not distinguished from the multitude by their rank or their abilities. It is only among the learned and the great that they seek for disciples and patrons with a zealous assiduity.

The progress and decline of Socinianism at Altorf.

II. The effect of the missions now mentioned, though they were conducted and executed by persons of whom the greatest part were eminent, both on account of their rank and abilities, was nevertheless far from answering the views and expectations of the community. In most places their success was doubtful, at best but inconsiderable; in some, however, they were favourably received, and seemed to employ their labours to purpose. They had no where a more flattering prospect of success than in the academy of *Altorf*, where their sentiments and their cause were promoted with dexterity by Ernest Sohner, an acute and learned peripatetician, who was professor of physic and natural philosophy. This subtile philosopher, who had joined the Socinians during his residence in *Holland*, instilled their principles into the minds of his scholars with much greater facility, by his having acquired the highest reputation, both for learning and piety. The death, indeed, of this eminent man, which happened in the year 1612, deprived the rising society of its chief ornament and support; nor could the remaining friends of Socinianism carry on the cause of their community with such art and dexterity, as to escape the vigilant and severe eye of the other professors. Their secret designs were accordingly brought to light in the year 1616; and the contagion of Socinianism, which was gathering strength from day to day,

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and growing imperceptibly into a reigning system, was all of a sudden dissipated and extinguished by the vigilant severity of the magistrates of *Nuremberg*. The foreign students, who had been infected with these doctrines, saved themselves by flight; while the natives, who were chargeable with the same reproach, accepted of the remedies that were presented to them by the healing hand of orthodoxy, and returned quietly to their former theological system [*m*].

The decline of Socinianism and the sufferings of its votaries in Poland.

III. The establishment of the Socinians in *Poland*, though it seemed to rest upon solid foundations, was nevertheless of a short duration [*n*], its chief supports were withdrawn in the year 1638, by a public decree of the diet. It happened in this year that some of the students of *Racow* vented, in an irregular and tumultuous manner, their religious resentment against a crucifix, at which they threw stones, till they beat it down out of its place. This act of violence excited such a high degree of indignation in the Roman Catholics, that they vowed revenge, and fulfilled this vow in the severest manner; for it was through their importunate solicitations that the terrible law was enacted at *Warsaw*, by which it was resolved, that the academy of *Racow* should be demolished, its professors banished with

[*m*] The learned Gustavus George Zeltner, formerly professor of Divinity in the academy of Altorf, composed an ample and learned account of this theological revolution, drawn principally from manuscript records, which was published at Leipsic, in the year 1729, in two volumes, in 4to, by Gebauer, under the following title; "Historia Crypto-Socinianismi, Altorfinæ quondam Academiæ infesti. arcana."

[*n*] We have a circumstantial account of the flourishing state of the Racovian academy, while it was under the direction of the learned Martin Ruarus, in the *Cimbria Literata* of Mollerus, tom. i. p. 572. where we learn that Ruarus was a native of Holstein, who became a proselyte to the Socinian system.

with ignominy, the printing-house of the Socinians destroyed, and their churches shut. All this was executed without the smallest alleviation or the least delay, notwithstanding the efforts made by the powerful patrons of the Socinians to ward off the blow [*o*]. But a catastrophe, still more terrible, awaited them; and the persecution now mentioned was the forerunner of that dreadful revolution, which, about twenty years afterwards, brought on the entire ruin of this community in *Poland:* For by a public and solemn act of the diet held at *Warsaw*, in the year 1658, all the Socinians were banished for ever from the territory of that republic, and capital punishment was denounced against all those who should either profess their opinions, or harbour their persons. The unhappy exiles were, at first allowed the space of three years to settle their affairs, and to dispose of their possessions; but this term was afterwards abridged by the cruelty of their enemies, and reduced to two years. In the year 1661, the terrible edict was renewed; and all the Socinians that yet remained in *Poland* were barbarously driven out of that country, some with the loss of their goods, others with the loss of their lives, as neither sickness, nor any domestic consideration, would suspend the execution of that rigorous sentence [*p*].

IV. A part of these exiles, who sought for a refuge among their *Brethren* in *Transylvania*, sunk under the burthen of their calamities, and perished amidst the hardships to which they were

The fate of the Socinian exiles.

[*o*] *Epistola de Wissowatii vita in Sandii Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar*, p. 233.—Gust. Georg. Zeltneri *Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfini*, vol. i. p. 299.

[*p*] Stanislai Lubieniecii *Historia Reformat. Polonicæ*, lib. iii. c. xvii. xviii. p. 279.—*Equitis Poloni Vindiciæ pro Unitariorum in Polonia Religionis libertate apud Sandium, in Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 267.

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exposed. A considerable number of these unhappy emigrants were dispersed through the adjacent provinces of *Silesia*, *Brandenburg*, and *Prussia*; and their posterity still subsists in those countries. Several of the more eminent members of the sect, in consequence of the protection granted them by the Duke of Brieg, resided for some time at *Crossen* in *Silesia* [q]. Others went in search of a convenient settlement for themselves and their brethren, into *Holland*, *England*, *Holstein*, and *Denmark*. Of all the Socinian exiles, none discovered such zeal and industry for the interests and establishment of the sect as Stanislaus Lubieniecius, a Polish knight, distinguished by his learning, and singularly esteemed by persons of the highest rank, and even by several sovereign princes on account of his eloquence, politeness, and prudence. This illustrious patron of Socinianism succeeded so far in his designs, as to gain the favour of Frederic III. king of *Denmark*; Christian Albert, duke of *Holstein*; and Charles Lewis, elector *Palatine*; and thus had almost obtained a secure retreat and settlement for the Socinians, about the year 1662, at *Altena*, *Fredericstadt*, and *Manheim*; but his measures were disconcerted, and all his hopes entirely frustrated, by the opposition and remonstrances of the clergy established in these countries; he was opposed in *Denmark* by Suaningius bishop of *Zealand*, in *Holstein* by Reinboth, and in the *Palatinate* by John Lewis Fabricius [r]. Several other attempts were made, in different

[q] Lubieniecii *Historia Reformat. Polon.* cap. xviii. p. 285. where there is a letter writen by the Socinians of Crossen.

[r] See Sandii *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitar*, p. 165....*Historia Vitæ Lebieniecii* prefixed to his *Historia Reformationis Polonicæ*, p. 7, 8.—Molleri *Introductio in Histor. Chersoncs. Cimbricæ*, p. ii. p. 105. and his *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 487.—Jo. Henr. Heideggeri *Vita Joh. Lud. Fabricii*, subjoined to the works of the latter, p. 38.

different countries, in favour of Socinianism; but their success was still less considerable; nor could any of the European nations be persuaded to grant a public settlement to a sect, whose members denied the divinity of Christ.

V. The remains, therefore, of this unfortunate community, are, at this day, dispersed through different countries, particularly in the kingdoms of *England* and *Prussia*, the electorate of *Brandenburg*, and the *United Provinces*, where they lie more or less concealed, and hold their religious assemblies in a clandestine manner. They are, indeed, said to exercise their religion publicly in *England* [*rr*], not in consequence of a legal toleration,

☞ [*rr*] The Socinians in England have never made any figure as a community, but have rather been dispersed among that great variety of sects that have arisen in a country where liberty displays its most glorious fruits, and at the same time exhibits its most striking inconveniencies. Besides, few ecclesiastics, or writers of any note, have adopted the theological system now under consideration, in all its branches. The Socinian doctrine relating to the design and efficacy of the death of Christ had indeed many abettors in England during the XVIIth century; and it may be presumed, without temerity, that its votaries are rather increased than diminished in the present; but those divines who have abandoned the Athanasian hypothesis concerning the Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, have more generally gone into the Arian and Semi-Arian notions of that inexplicable subject, than into those of the Socinians, who deny that Jesus Christ existed before his appearance in the human nature. The famous John Biddle, after having maintained, both in public and in private, during the reign of Charles, and the protectorship of Cromwell, the Unitarian system, erected an Independent congregation in London, which is the only British church we have heard of, in which all the peculiar doctrines of Socinianism were inculcated; for, if we may give credit to the account of Sir Peter Pett, this congregation held the following notions: "That the fathers under the old covenant had only temporal promises—that saving faith consisted in universal obedience performed to the commands of God and Christ—that Christ arose again only by the power of the Father, and not his own—that justifying faith is not the pure gift

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tion, but through the indulgent connivance of the civil magistrate [*s*]. Some of them have embraced the communion of the Arminians; others have joined with that sect of the Anabaptists that are distinguished by the name of *Galenists;* and in this there is nothing at all surprising, since neither the Arminians nor Anabaptists require from those that enter into their communion an explicit or circumstantial declaration of their religious sentiments. It is also said, that a considerable number of this dispersed community became members of the religious society called Collegiants [*t*]. Amidst these perpetual changes and

gift of God, but may be acquired by men's natural abilities; —that faith cannot believe any thing contrary to, or above reason—that there is no original sin—that Christ hath not the same body now in glory, in which he suffered and rose again—that the saints shall not have the same body in heaven which they had on earth—that Christ was not a Lord or King before his resurrection, or Priest before his ascension—that the saints shall not, before the day of judgment, enjoy the bliss of heaven—that God doth not certainly know future contingencies—that there is not any authority of fathers or general councils in determining matters of faith—that Christ, before his death, had not any dominion over the Angels—and that Christ, by dying, made not satisfaction for us." See the Preface to Sir Peter Pett's Happy Future State of England, printed at London in 1688.

[*s*] The Socinians, who reside at present in the district of Mark, used to meet, some years ago, at stated times, at Koningswald, a village in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, on the Oder. See the *Recueil de Litterature, de Philosophie et d'Histoire,* (published at Amsterdam in the year 1731, in 8vo ‡). p. 44. They published, in the year 1716, at Berlin, their confession of Faith in the German language, which is to be found, with a refutation thereto annexed, in a book entitled, *Den Theologischen Heb. Opfern.* part x. p. 852.

☞ [*t*] This community, of which there is an account given in the beginning of the following chapter, called their religious meetings *Collegies,* a Dutch word, which signifies congregation or assembly, and hence they were denominated *Collegiants.*

☞ [‡] The author of this collection was one Jordan, who was pastor of a church in the neighbourhood of Berlin.

and vicissitudes, it was not possible that the Socinians could maintain an uniform system of doctrine, or preserve unaltered and entire the religious tenets handed down to them by their ancestors. On the contrary, their peculiar and distinctive opinions are variously explained and understood both by the learned and illiterate members of their community, though they all agree in rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity, and that also of the *divinity* and *satisfaction* of Jesus Christ [*u*].

Arians.

VI. After the Socinians, as there is a great affinity between the two sects, it is proper to mention the Arians, who had several celebrated writers in this century, such as Sandius and Biddle [*w*]. Of those who also passed under the general denomination of *Anti-Trinitarians* and *Unitarians*

[*u*] Many examples might be alleged in proof of this; it will be sufficient to mention that of the learned Crellius, who though he was professor of theology among the Socinians, yet differed in his opinions about many points of doctrine, from the sentiments of Socinus and the Racovian Catechism, and would not be called a Socinian, but an Artemonite ‡. See the *Journal Litteraire*, tom. xvii. p. i. p. 150. and the account I have given of this celebrated man in my *Symtagm. Dissertationum ad sanctiores Disciplinas pertinentium*, p. 352. *Unschuld. Nachricht.* 1750, p. 942.—*Nouveau Diction. Historique et Critique*, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 88. ☞ This last citation is erroneous; there is no account of Crellius in the place here referred to.

[*w*] For an account of Sandius, father and son, see Arnold and other writers. The life of Biddle is to be found in the *Nouveau Diction. Historique et Critique*, tom. i. p. ii. p. 288. ☞ Dr. Mosheim places Biddle improperly among the Arians; it is manifest that he belongs to the Socinians, since, in the 3d article of his Confession of Faith, he professeth to believe that Christ has no other than a human nature. See the Socinian Tracts, entitled, "The Faith of one God," &c. published at London, in 4to, 1691. See also above, note [*rr*].

☞ ‡ After Artemon, who lived under the reign of the Emperor Severus, and denied the pre-existence and divinity of Jesus Christ.

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Unitarians there are many that may be placed in the class of the Socinians and Arians; for the term *Unitarian* is very comprehensive, and is applicable to a great variety of persons, who, notwithstanding, agree in this common principle, that *there is no real distinction in the divine nature.* The denomination of Arian is also given in general to all who consider Jesus Christ as inferior and subordinate to the Father. But as this subordination may be understood and explained in a variety of ways, it is evident that the term *Arian*, as it is used in modern language, is susceptible of different significations; and that of consequence the persons to whom it is applied cannot be all considered in the same point of light with the ancient Arians, nor supposed to agree perfectly with each other in their religious tenets.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning some Sects of Inferior Note.

The Collegiants or Rhinsbergers.

I. IT will not be amiss to take notice here of a few sects of inferior consequence and note, which we could not mention with propriety in the history of the larger and more extensive communities that we have been passing in review, and which, nevertheless, we cannot omit, for several reasons. While the disputes and tumults that the Arminian system produced in *Holland*, in the year 1619, were at the greatest height, then arose that religious society, whose members hold at *Rhinsberg*, in the neighbourhood of *Leyden*, a solemn assembly every half year, and are generally

generally known under the denomination of *Collegiants* [x]. This community was founded by three brothers, whose name was Vander Kodde, who passed their days in the obscurity of a rural life, but are said to have been men of eminent piety, well acquainted with sacred literature, and great enemies to religious controversy. They had for their associate Anthony Cornelius, a man also of a mean condition, and who had no qualities that could give any degree of weight or credit to their cause. The descendants and followers of these men acquired the name of *Collegiants*, from this particular circumstance, that they called their religious assemblies *Colleges*. All are admitted to the communion of this sect who acknowledge the divinity of the Holy Scriptures, and endeavour to live suitably to their precepts and doctrines, whatever their peculiar sentiments may be concerning the nature of the Deity, and the truths of Christianity. Their numbers are very considerable in the provinces of *Holland*, *Utrecht*, *Friesland*, and *Westfriesland*. They meet twice every week, namely, on Sundays and Wednesdays, for the purposes of divine worship; and after singing a psalm or hymn, and addressing themselves to the Deity by prayer, they explain a certain portion of the New Testament. The female members of the community are not allowed to speak in public; but all others, without any exception, founded on rank, condition, or incapacity, have a right to communicate the result of their meditations to the assembly, and to submit their sentiments to the judgment of the Brethren. All likewise have an unquestionable right to examine and oppose what any of the Brethren has advanced, provided their opposition be attended with a spirit of Christian charity and moderation. There

[x] See above, note [t].

There is a printed list of the passages of Scripture, that are to be examined and illustrated at each of their religious meetings; so that any one who is ambitious of appearing among the *speakers*, may study the subject before-hand, and thus come fully prepared to descant upon it in public. The Brethren, as has been already observed, have a general assembly twice a year at *Rhinsberg*, where they have ample and convenient houses for the education of orphans and the reception of strangers; and there they remain together during the space of four days, which are employed in hearing discourses that tend to edification, and exhortations that are principally designed to inculcate brotherly love and sanctity of manners. The sacrament of the Lord's supper is also administered during this assembly; and those adult persons that desire to be baptized, receive the sacrament of Baptism, according to the ancient and primitive manner of celebrating that institution, even by immersion. Those of the Brethren that reside in the province of *Friesland*, have at present an annual meeting at *Lewarden*, where they administer the sacraments, as the considerable distance at which they live from *Rhinsberg* renders it inconvenient for them to repair thither twice a year. We shall conclude our account of the *Collegiants* by observing, that their community is of a most ample and extensive kind; that it comprehends persons of all ranks, orders, and sects, who profess themselves Christians, though their sentiments concerning the person and doctrine of the divine Founder of Christianity be extremely different; that it is kept together, and its union maintained, not by the authority of rulers and doctors, the force of ecclesiastical laws, the restraining power of creeds and confessions, or the influence of certain positive rites and institutions, but merely by a zeal for the advancement

vancement of practical religion, and a desiring of drawing instruction from the study of the Holy Scriptures [*y*].

II. In such a community, or rather amidst such a multitude as this, in which *opinion* is free, and every one is permitted to judge for himself in religious matters, dissensions and controversies can scarcely have place. However, a debate, attended with some warmth, arose, in the year 1672 between John and Paul Bredenburg, merchants of *Rotterdam*, on the one side, and Abraham Lemmerman and Francis Cuiper, merchants of *Amsterdam*, on the other. John Bredenburg had erected a particular society, or *college*, in which he gave a course of lectures upon the religion of nature and reason; but this undertaking was highly disapproved of by Lemmerman and Cuiper, who were for excluding reason altogether from religious inquiries and pursuits. During the heat of this controversy, Bredenburg discovered a manifest propensity towards the sentiments of Spinoza; nay, he even defended them publicly, and yet, at the same time, professed a firm attachment to the Christian religion [*z*]. Other debates of less consequence arose in this community, and the

[*y*] See the *Dissertation sur les usages de ceux qu'on appelle en Hollande Colligiens et Rhinobourgeois*, in the *Ceremonies Religieuses des tous les Peuples du Monde*, tom. iv. p. 323. as also a Dutch book, containing an account of the *Collegiants*, and published by themselves under the following title: "De Oerspronck, Natuur, Handelwyz en Oogmerk der zo genaamde Rynburgsche Vergadering," at Amsterdam, in 4to, in the year 1736.

[*z*] The names of John Brendenburg and Francis Cuiper are well known among the followers and adversaries of Spinoza; but the character and profession of these two disputants are less generally known. Brendenburg, or (as he is otherwise called) Breitenburg, was a Collegiant, and a merchant of Rotterdam, who propagated in a public manner the doctrine of Spinoza, and pretended to demonstrate

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the effect of those dissensions was a division of the *Collegiants* into two parties, which held their assemblies separately at *Rhinsberg*. This division happened in the year 1686, but it was healed about the commencement of the present century, by the death of those who had principally occasioned it; and then the *Collegiants* returned to their former union and concord [*a*]. III. The

strate mathematically its conformity to the dictates of reason. The same man not only professed Christianity, but moreover explained, recommended, and maintained the Christian religion in the meetings of the Collegiants, and asserted, on all occasions, its divine original. To reconcile these striking contradictions, he declared, on the one hand, that reason and Christianity were in direct opposition to each another; but maintained, on the other, that we were obliged to believe, even against the evidence of the strongest mathematical demonstrations, the religious doctrines comprehended in the Holy Scriptures (this, indeed, was adding absurdity to absurdity). He affirmed, that truth was twofold, theological and philosophical; and that those propositions, which were false in theology, were true in philosophy. There is a brief, but accurate account of the character and sentiments of Bredenburg, in the learned work of the Jew Isaac Orobia, entitled, "Certamen Philosophicum propugnatæ veritatis, divinæ et naturalis adversus Jo. Bredenburgii principia, ex quibus, quod religio rationi repugnat, demonstrare nititur." This work which contains Bredenburg's pretended demonstrations of the philosophy of Spinoza, was first published in 8vo. at Amsterdam, in the year 1703, and afterwards in 12mo, at Brussels, in 1731. Francis Cuiper, who was the antagonist of Bredenburg, acquired a considerable reputation by his *Arcana Atheismi detecta*, i. e. The secrets of Atheism detected. He was a Bookseller at Amsterdam; and it was he that published among other things, the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum seu Unitariorum*. Those who have a tolerable acquaintance with the literary history of this century, know that Cuiper, on account of the very book which he wrote against Bredenburg, was suspected of Spinozism, though he was a Collegiant, and a zealous defender of the Christian faith, as also of the perfect conformity that there is between right reason and true religion. ☞ Dr. Mosheim said a little before, in the text, that Lemmerman and Cuiper were for excluding reason altogether from religion; how then can he consistently say here of the latter, that he was a defender of the conformity that there is between reason and religion?

[*a*] Besides the authors who have been already mentioned, those

The Labbadists.

III. The sect of the *Labbadists* were so called from their founder John Labbadie, a native of *France*, a man of no mean genius, and remarkable for a natural and masculine eloquence. This man was born in the Romish communion, entered into the order of the Jesuits, and being dismissed by them [*b*], became a member of the Reformed church, and performed with reputation, the ministerial functions in *France*, *Switzerland*, and *Holland*. He at length erected a new community, which resided successively at *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*, and at *Amsterdam*. In the year 1670, it was transplanted to *Hervorden*, a town in *Westphalia*, at the particular desire of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of the elector *Palatine*, and abbess of *Hervorden* [*c*]. It was nevertheless driven from thence, notwithstanding the protection of this illustrious princess; and in the year

those who understand the German language may consult the curious work of Simon Frederic Rues, entitled, "Nachrichton vom Zustande der Mennoniten," p. 267.

☞ [*b*] From this expression of our author, some may be led to imagine that Labbadie was expelled by the Jesuits from their society; and many have, in effect, entertained this notion. But this is a palpable mistake; and whoever will be at the pains of consulting the letter of the Abbe Goujet to Father Niceron (published in the *Memoires des Hommes illustres*, tom. xx. p. 142, 143), will find that Labbadie had long solicited his discharge from that society, and after many refusals, obtained it at length in an honourable manner, by a public act signed at Bourdeaux, by one of the provincials, the 17th of April 1639. For a full account of this restless, turbulent, and visionary man, who, by his plans of Reformation, conducted by a zeal destitute of prudence, produced much tumult and disorder, both in the Romish and Reformed churches, see his Life, composed with learning, impartiality, and judgment, by the Rev. Mr. Chauffepied, in his Supplement to Mr. Bayle, entitled, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique.*

☞ [*c*] This illustrious princess seems to have had as prevailing a taste for fanaticism as her grandfather king James I. of England had for scholastic theology. She carried on a correspondence

year 1672, settled at *Altena*, where its founder died two years after his arrival. After the death of Labbadie, his followers removed their wandering community to *Wiewert*, in the district of *North Holland*, where it found a peaceful retreat, and soon fell into oblivion; so that few, if any traces of it, are now to be found.

Among the persons that became members of this sect, there were some, whose learning and abilities gave it a certain degree of credit and reputation, particularly Anna Maria Schurman, of *Utrecht*, whose extensive erudition rendered her so famous, in the republic of letters, during the last century. The members of this community, if we are to judge of them by their own account of things, did not differ from the Reformed church so much in their tenets and doctrines, as in their manners and rules of discipline [*d*], for their founder exhibited, in his own conduct a most

correspondence with Penn, the famous quaker, and other members of that extravagant sect. She is, nevertheless, celebrated by certain writers, on account of her application to the study of philosophy and poetry. That a poetical fancy may have rendered her susceptible of fanatical impressions, is not impossible; but how these impressions could be reconciled with a philosophical spirit, is more difficult to imagine.

☞ [*d*] Labbadie always declared, that he embraced the doctrines of the Reformed church. Nevertheless, when he was called to perform the ministerial functions to a French church at Middleburg, in Zealand, he refused to subscribe their confession of faith. Besides, if we examine his writings we shall find that he entertained very odd, and singular opinions on various subjects. He maintained, among other things, "that God might, and did, on certain occasions, deceive men—that the Holy Scriptures was not sufficient to lead men to salvation, without certain particular illuminations and revelations from the Holy Ghost—that in reading the Scriptures, we ought to give less attention to the literal sense of the words than to the inward suggestions of the spirit, and that the efficacy of the word depended upon him that preached it—that the faithful ought to have all things in common—that there is no subordination or distinction

a most austere model of sanctity and obedience, which his disciples and followers were obliged to imitate; and they were taught to look for the *communion of saints*, not only in the invisible church, but also in a *visible* one, which, according to their views of things, ought to be composed of none but of such persons as were distinguished by their sanctity and virtue, and by a pious progress towards perfection. There are still extant several treatises composed by Labbadie, which sufficiently discover the temper and spirit of the man, and carry the evident marks

"tinction of rank in the true church of Christ—that Christ "was to reign a thousand years upon earth—that the *contem-* "*plative life* is a state of grace and union with God, and the "very height of perfection—that the Christian, whose mind is "contented and calm, sees all things in God, enjoys the Deity, "and is perfectly indifferent about every thing that passes in "the world—and that the Christian arrives at that happy state "by the exercise of a perfect self-denial, by mortifying the "flesh and all sensual affections, and by mental prayer." Besides these, he had formed singular ideas of the Old and New Testament, considered as covenants, as also concerning the Sabbath, and the true nature of a Christian church.

It is remarkable enough that almost all the sectaries of an enthusiastical turn, were desirous of entering into communion with Labbadie. The Brownists offered him their church at Middleburg, when he was suspended by the French synod from his pastoral functions. The Quakers sent their two leading members Robert Barclay and George Keith to Amsterdam, while he resided there, to examine his doctrine; and, after several conferences with him, these two commissioners offered to receive him into their communion, which he refused, probably from a principle of ambition, and the desire of remaining head of a sect. Nay, it is said, that the famous William Penn made a second attempt to gain over the Labbadists; and that he went for that purpose to Wiewert, where they resided after the death of their founder, but without success. We do not pretend to answer for the certainty of these facts; but shall only observe, that they are related by Mollerus in his *Cimbria Literata*, on the authority of a MS. Journal, of which several extracts have been given by Joach. Fred. Feller, in his *Trimest.* IX. *Monumentorum inceditorum*, sect. iii. A. 1717. p. 498—500.

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of a lively and glowing imagination, that was not tempered by the influence of a sober and accurate judgment. And as persons of this character are sometimes carried, by the impetuosity of passion and the seduction of fancy, both into erroneous notions and licentious pursuits, we are not perhaps to reject, in consequence of an excessive charity, the testimonies of those who have found many things worthy of censure, both in the life and doctrine of this turbulent enthusiast [*e*].

Bourignon and Poiret.

IV. Among the fanatical contemporaries of Labbadie, was the famous Antoinette Bourignon de la Porte, a native of *Flanders*, who pretended to be divinely inspired, and set apart, by a particular interposition of Heaven, to revive the true spirit of Christianity, that had been extinguished by theological animosities and debates. This female enthusiast, whose religious feelings were accompanied with an unparalleled vivacity and ardour, and whose fancy was exuberant beyond all expression, joined to these qualities a volubility of tongue, less wonderful indeed, yet much adapted to seduce the unwary. Furnished with these useful talents, she began to propagate her theological system, and her enthusiastical notions made a great noise in *Flanders*, *Holland*, and some parts of *Germany*, where she had resided some years. Nor was it only the ignorant multitude that swallowed down with facility her visionary doctrines; since it is well known that several learned and ingenious men were persuaded of their truth, and caught the contagion

[*e*] See Mollerus' *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 35. and *Isagoge ad Histor. Chersones. Cimbricæ*, p. 2. cap. v. p. 121.—Arnold, *Histor. Ecclesiast.* vol. i. p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. xxi. p. 1186.—Weisman, *Hist. Eccles. Sæc.* xvii. p. 297.—For an account of the two famous companions of Labbadie, viz. Du Lignon and Yvon, see Mollerus' *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 472. 1020.

contagion of her fanaticism. After experiencing various turns of fortune, and suffering much vexation and mockeries on account of her religious fancies, she ended her days at *Francker*, in the province of *Friesland*, in the year 1680. Her writings were voluminous; but it would be a fruitless attempt to endeavour to draw from them an accurate and consistent scheme of religion. For the pretended *divine light*, that guides people of this class, does not proceed in a methodical way of reasoning and argument; it discovers itself by flashes, which shed nothing but thick darkness in the minds of those who investigate truth with the understanding, and do not trust to the reports of fancy, that is so often governed by sense and passion. An attentive reader will, however, learn something by perusing the writings of this fanatical virgin; he will be persuaded, that her intellect must have been in a disordered state; that the greatest part of her *divine effusions* were borrowed from the productions of the Mystics; and that by the intemperance of her imagination, she has given an additional air of extravagance and absurdity to the tenets she has derived from these pompous enthusiasts. If we attend to the main and predominant principle that reigns throughout the incoherent productions of Bourignon, we shall find it to be the following; "That the Christian religion neither "consists in knowledge nor in practice, but in a "certain internal feeling and divine impulse, that "arises immediately from communion with the "*Deity* [*f*]." Among the more considerable patrons

[*f*] See for an ample account of Bourignon, the following writers: Moller. *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 85.—*Introductio in Histor. Chersonesi Cimbricæ*, p. ii. p. 151.—Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tom. i. at the article Bourignon.—Arnold, *Historia Eccles. et Hæret.* vol. ii. ☞ See also Poiret's *Epist. de Auctoribus Mysticis*, sect. xiv. p. 565. This treatise of Poiret is inserted at the end of his book, *De Eruditione Solida & Superficiaria*, vol. ii. edit. 4to.

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trons of this fanatical doctrine, we may reckon Christian Bartholomew de Cordt, a Jansenist, and priest of the oratory at *Mechlin*, who died at *Nordstrandt*, in the dutchy of *Sleswick* [*g*]; and Peter Poiret, a man of a bold and penetrating genius, who was a great master of the Cartesian philosophy [*h*]. This latter has shewn, in a striking manner, by his own example, that knowledge and ignorance, reason and superstition, are often divided by thin partitions; and that they sometimes not only dwell together in the same person, but also, by an unnatural and unaccountable union, lend each other mutual assistance, and thus engender monstrous productions.

The Philadelphian Society.

V. The same spirit, the same views, and the same kind of religion, that distinguished Bourignon, were observable in an English, and also a female fanatic, named Jane Leadley, who, towards the conclusion of this century, seduced by her visions, predictions, and doctrines, a considerable number of disciples, among whom there were some persons of learning; and thus gave rise to what was called the *Philadelphian Society*. This woman was of opinion that all dissensions among Christians would cease, and the kingdom of the Redeemer become, even here below, a glorious scene of charity, concord and felicity, if these who bear the name of Jesus, without regarding the forms of doctrine or discipline that distinguish particular communions, would all join in committing their souls to the care of the *internal*

[*g*] Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 149.

[*h*] Poiret dressed out in an artful manner, and reduced to a kind of system, the wild and incoherent fancies of Bourignon, in his large work, entitled, *L'Oeconomie Divine, ou Systeme Universel*, which was published, both in French and Latin, at Amsterdam, in the year 1686, in seven volumes 8vo.—For an account of this Mystic philosopher, whose name and voluminous writings have made such a noise, see *Bibliotheca Brem. Theolog. Philol.* tom. iii. p. 75.

internal guide, to be instructed, governed, and formed by his divine impulse and suggestions. Nay, she went still further, and declared in the name of the Lord, that this desirable event would happen; and that she had a divine commission to proclaim the approach of this glorious communion of saints, who were to be gathered together in one visible universal church, or kingdom, before the dissolution of this earthly globe. This prediction she delivered with a peculiar degree of confidence, from a notion that her Philadelphian society was the true *kingdom of* Christ, in which alone the divine spirit resided and reigned. We shall not mention the other dreams of this enthusiast, among which the famous doctrine of the final restoration of all intelligent Beings to perfection and happiness held an eminent place. Leadley was less fortunate than Bourignon in this respect, that she had not such an eloquent and ingenious patron as Poiret, to plead her cause, and to give an air of philosophy to her wild reveries. For Pordage and Bromley, who were the chief of her associates, had nothing to recommend them but their Mystic piety and contemplative turn of mind. Pordage more especially, was so far destitute of the powers of elocution and reasoning, that he even surpassed Jacob Boehmen, whom he admired, in obscurity and nonsense; and, instead of imparting instruction to his readers, did no more than excite in them a stupid kind of awe by a high-sounding jingle of pompous words [*i*].

[*i*] See Jo. Wolf. Jaegeri *Historia Sacra et Civilis, Sæc.* xvii. *Decenn*, x. p. 90.—Petri Poireti *Bibliotheca Mysticor.* p. 161. 174. 283. 286.

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